

IN THESE TIMES

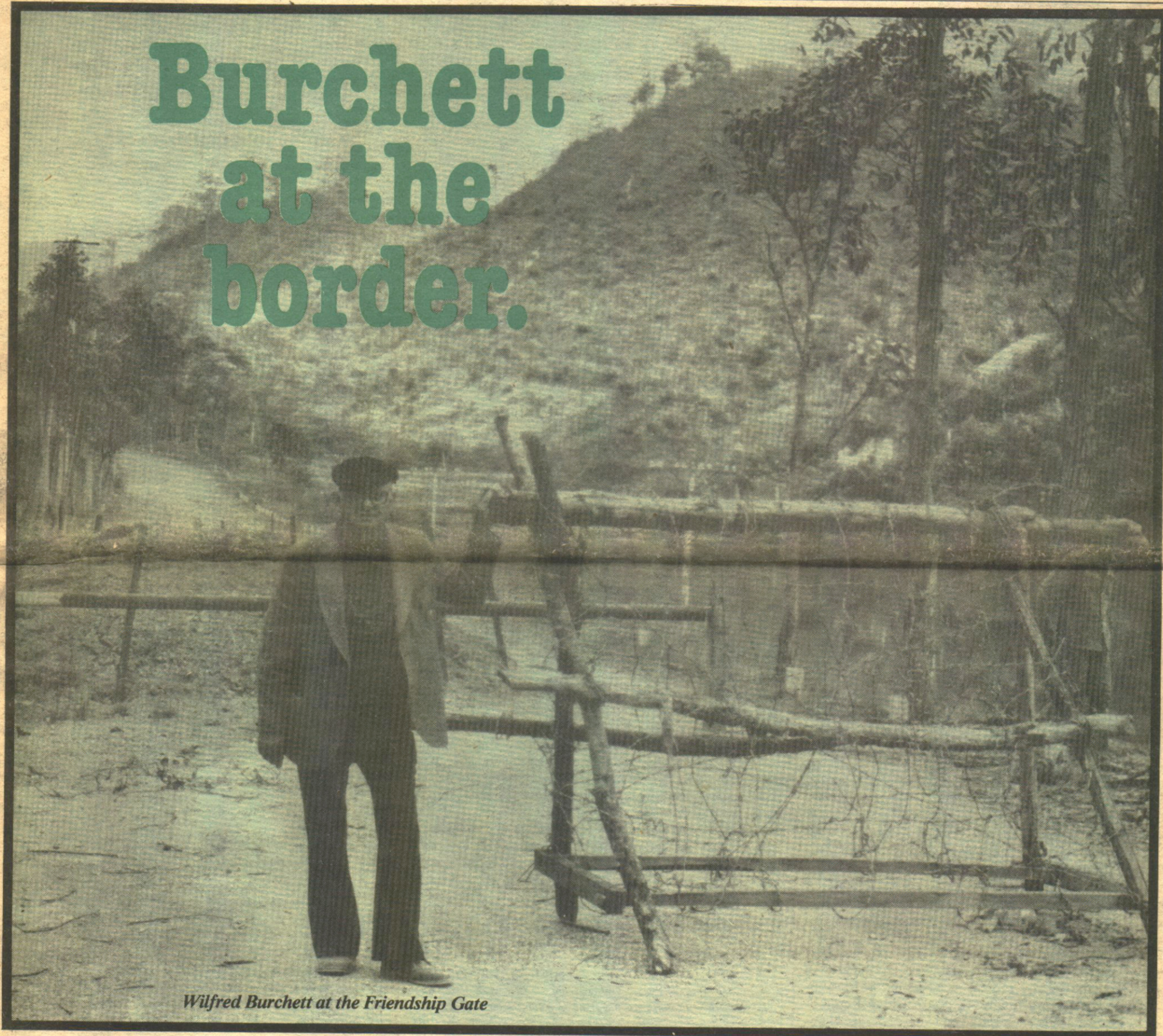


Vol. 3, No. 15

Feb. 28-Mar. 6, 1979

70 Cents

Burchett at the border.



Wilfred Burchett at the Friendship Gate

PLUS

Judis reports on Democratic Socialist convention Page 4

Farm workers mourn the loss of their comrade Page 7

Gang violence follows THE WARRIORS screenings Page 20

THE INSIDE STORY



Michael Rotkin (left) at a campaign meeting in Santa Cruz, Cal.

Socialist candidate running strong in Santa Cruz

"For too long the Santa Cruz City Council has responded only to big developers and other monied special interests. The Council's reaction to citizens who come before it has been to ignore and insult us. The question now is whether average citizens will have the right to take control over decisions affecting their lives."

So says Mike Rotkin, a democratic socialist candidate for City Council in Santa Cruz, Calif., who has an excellent chance to win a seat in the March 6th non-partisan city elections. Rotkin's candidacy, as well as strong challenges by several other radicals, illustrates the heightening of political conflict in this town of nearly 40,000 located on the north side of Monterey Bay. Few American communities have undergone the extensive social, cultural and political changes Santa Cruz has witnessed over the past 15 years.

The founding of the Santa Cruz campus of the University of California did more than anything else to start the transformation of this one-time sleepy center. The addition of nearly 6000 students, plus the university's faculty, staff, families and hangers-on, helped drop the city's median age from nearly 44 years in 1960 to a little more than 34 years by 1970. (By comparison, the median age in the entire state fell from 30 to 28.4 years in the same period.) There was an accompanying population boom, as commuters working in the San Jose area plus assorted artists, hippies, businesses and surfers joined the university folks moving to the town.

The political contours of Santa Cruz are much different now than they were before. In addition to the growth of active feminist and radical movements, party politics have shifted drastically. A conservative Republican in Congress has been replaced by a moderate Democrat, progressives have won a number of county elections, and Santa Cruz voters now tend to be among the most liberal in California on statewide initiatives and candidates. In November, an anti-rent speculation measure passed and a tough rent-control initiative lost by only 74 votes.

Despite the shift to the left, Santa Cruz politics are still sharply contested. The old-line conservatives have counter-attacked, occasionally winning victories such as their successful June 1978 recall of two progressive members of the County Board of Supervisors.

The forthcoming City Council race, in which three incumbents and 15 other candidates are seeking four seats, is shaping up as the latest in a series of battles. Also on the March ballot are a rent control charter amendment and a "Greenbelt Initiative" to preserve open space, control growth and provide a small amount of low-cost housing. Both are rekindling the renter vs. landlord and environmentalist vs. developer disputes that have been carried on over the past decade.

It is in this context that Rotkin's candidacy occurs. A lecturer in Community Studies at UCSC and a member of the New American Movement's National Inter-

im Committee, Rotkin has long been involved in Santa Cruz politics and community affairs. He is expected to run extremely well in the university precincts, where, he told *IN THESE TIMES*, he is trying "to talk to students about their common interests with low- and moderate-income people in respect to preventing environmental destruction, building inexpensive housing, stabilizing rents and obtaining adequate health care." Rotkin says, "We have to stop the move to Carmelize the town and turn it into another community for the rich."

Rotkin should also receive considerable labor support, as a member of the County Central Labor Council representing AFSCME local 1728. But perhaps the most intriguing area of his support, and the one that offers the greatest potential for permanently altering the way in which city-wide politics is conducted, is Rotkin's identification with a growing movement for neighborhood control.

Westside Neighbors is one such group. Formed in 1976, this populist organization has over 400 signed-up members, half of whom are senior citizens, in a racially mixed, low- and moderate-income neighborhood on Santa Cruz's west side. They publish a monthly newspaper, *Westside Story*, with a circulation of 3000.

According to Rotkin, who is a member of the group's steering committee, "The goal of Westside Neighbors is to build a grass-roots neighborhood organization that can cut across the traditional liberal/conservative, young/old, and racial divisions that have existed in our community."

The group both serves a social function, ending some of the isolation that seniors in particular experience, and operates on a political level. Recently, they fought successfully to keep the local library open after Proposition 13 cut-backs threatened to close it, and they are working to build a community-controlled health care clinic.

Rotkin's candidacy comes directly out of Westside Neighbors' belief that "grass-roots organizing by necessity involves direct participation in the political process." As a member of the group's steering committee, he is committed to establishing a working relation between the city's neighborhoods and the City Council.

One task the new Council will face is what to do with the city's \$4 million surplus. Rotkin feels the Council should "spend these funds as seed money for housing and health care projects. This wouldn't require an increase in taxes; instead it would mean using our resources for human needs."

Rotkin will challenge the City Council's "boondoggle" of federal HUD funds. He told *IN THESE TIMES* that the Council used about \$600,000 that had been allocated for community development and housing, to aid business interests. According to Rotkin, the Council redefined the downtown shopping mall as a "neighborhood," and proceeded to spend \$180,000 on that project.

Real estate developers, the Santa Cruz *Sentinel* (the town's only daily newspaper), and other representatives of the local power structure are not taking this challenge lightly.

Rotkin's candidacy, in particular, has heightened conservative attacks on what they call the "sheep-like" [liberal] voting patterns of students who have been "brainwashed" by "activist professors" like Rotkin. Chamber of Commerce manager Lionel Stoloff has even told UCSC's *City on a Hill Press* that "when you have a purely local issue, I don't believe students should be allowed to vote."

Unless longer residency requirements are re-written into federal law and upheld by the courts, Stoloff will likely have his share of headaches in the months and years ahead. Most immediately, he and others will have

to contend with local candidates like Mike Rotkin who are saying that "achieving democratic, community control will mean a direct confrontation with the business interests that have long run Santa Cruz."

—Bruce Dancis

George McGovern befriends Ronald McDonald

George McGovern's subcommittee is holding hearings on whether fast food chains like McDonald's and Kentucky Fried Chicken should be required to label the ingredients of the food they offer.

They got unexpected support from McGovern himself, who criticized the image of fast foods as having "little or no nutritional value."

"I and a lot of other people have given them a bad rap," he said. "The truth is that you may be better off nutritionally than you would be at some fancy gourmet restaurant."

Representatives of McDonalds and Kentucky Fried Chicken said that government efforts to require labelling had actually inhibited them from voluntarily labelling their food. They thought that any labelling might trigger even further Federal Trade Commission requirements.

—John Judis

Cutting jobs that don't exist

In their effort to cut public spending of jobs, Carter administration members seemed to have jumped the gun, with the result that they now face the kind of difficulty that makes bureaucrats blush.

There were supposed to be 625,000 jobs provided for in Fiscal Year 1979 appropriations for the Comprehensive Training and Employment Act (CETA). But administration planners have only funded 517,000 jobs this year.

In his budget proposal for Fiscal Year 1980, which begins Oct. 1, Carter proposed cutting CETA jobs from 625,000 to 540,000, to drop to 417,000 by September 1980.

The *Washington Post* reports administration officials as saying that there is about \$1 billion "sloshing around" in unused CETA funds.

The Carter administration therefore must decide whether to increase CETA jobs now, only to cut them in October.

—John Judis

Lucky 13 Winners

The table below itemizes some of the largest recipients of tax savings under California's Proposition 13. The figures are derived from the first tax returns filed earlier this year under the property tax rates mandated by Proposition 13. (See last week's editorial, "For Big Business It's Lucky 13.")

Corporation	Tax Savings from Prop. 13 (\$ millions)
Standard Oil Co. of Calif.	47.0
Southern Calif. Edison Co.	46.7
Southern Pacific Co.	20.0
Getty Oil	12.3
Lockheed Corp.	10.0
Atlantic Richfield Co.	10.0
Bank of America	7.2
Texaco (L.A. County alone)	6.8
Exxon Corp.	6.0
Crocker National Bank	2.8

(Source: *Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 13, 1979)

—MJS

IN THESE TIMES

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A two thousand year old war?

By Wilfred Burchett

The least one can say about China's massive invasion of Vietnam is that there is nothing new about it. China has been attacking, invading, occupying Vietnam for the past 2000 years. One period of occupation lasted over 1000 years—from 141 B.C. to 938 A.D. when the T'ang Dynasty invaders were thrown out.

The last ended in May, 1946, when Chinese Kuomintang troops withdrew from north of the 16th parallel after Ho Chi Minh negotiated with the French to replace them. With typical foresight and sureness, he considered French occupation the lesser, and more short-lived, of two evils.

Vice-premier Deng Xiaoping's statements during his recent visit to the U.S. and Japan that China would have "to teach Vietnam a lesson" had less to do with the state of China-Soviet relations—the context in which Deng placed the lesson-teaching operation—than China's 2000 years' frustrations with the *Viet Lac*, the Chinese name for what we know as Vietnamese.

The *Viet Lac* was the only one of the *Bac Viet* (hundred Viet) tribes who lived south of the Yunnan river and whom successive Chinese dynasties had been unable to subdue. The *Viet Lac* during that period proved not only capable of defending their territory—the Vietnam-China frontier remains unchanged during those 2000 years—but also in defending their way of life. This was a much greater miracle. But the Vietnamese language remains—even though it was cloaked in Chinese ideographs for 17 centuries—and distinctively Vietnamese music, food and way of dressing were preserved.

The Vietnamese defended their way of life despite repeated cultural aggressions by Chinese and Mongol invaders, including the burning of books and total destruction of historical records and artistic expression in all their forms.

A fishbone in the gullet.

The Vietnamese success in defending their territory and way of life sticks like a fishbone in the gullet of at least some elements within the present Chinese leadership. Historically, Vietnam represented an obstacle to Chinese plans for expanding its empire to the south. Today it represents an impediment to the present Chinese leadership in strengthening their influence over the 20 million overseas Chinese in Indonesia, Malaysia and other parts of Southeast Asia.

Burchett joins ITT

Wilfred G. Burchett, author of several books on Vietnam and long-time correspondent covering Southeast Asia and Africa, has joined the staff of IN THESE TIMES. Burchett had been foreign correspondent for the *Guardian*, "the independent radical newsweekly," published in New York. His resignation from the *Guardian* was effective Feb. 28.

"After 22 years of almost weekly co-operation," Burchett said, "this was not an easy decision." But "irreconcilable policy differences, especially over the nature and background of the Vietnam-Kampuchea-China problems" had "led to the *Guardian* suppressing numerous background and on-the-spot reports," Burchett explained. Burchett had filed reports based on a month-long visit to border areas between Vietnam and Kampuchea and China late last December.

Burchett will write regularly for IN THESE TIMES from Southeast Asia, Africa and elsewhere. Like those of all other ITT correspondents, his views will not necessarily reflect the editorial positions of the paper.



Heads of the Vietnamese railway liaison team, expelled from the Chinese side of the frontier after China unilaterally cut Vietnam's only rail link with the outside world on Dec. 23, 1978.

As an old friend and supporter of the Chinese revolution and on-the-spot reporter of the country's heroic resistance to Japanese aggression, it is somewhat painful to recall China's millennia-long attempts to subdue the Vietnamese and integrate them into mainland China. I was glad to agree with my Vietnamese revolutionary friends that the vigorous attempts to occupy their territory and suppress their culture were part of the nasty feudal habits inherent in the waxing and waning of empires and the formation of states.

Deng says China will "teach Vietnam a lesson," but only time will tell who teaches whom.

The slate was wiped clean by the generous and vital support that revolutionary China gave to Vietnam in its national liberation struggles against French colonialism and later against U.S. imperialism. That is what we thought. It is what all progressives believed and wanted to believe. An inspiring example of revolutionary solidarity!

The explicit Chinese support for the rabidly anti-Vietnamese Pol Pot regime in Cambodia, and the explosion of shooting incidents along the Chinese-Vietnamese frontier, came as a shock.

Because of its implications, there was an even worse shock awaiting me on my arrival in Hochiminhville on Nov. 30, last year. Due to a missed plane connection I had to stay the night instead of continuing on to Hanoi. "Perhaps you would like to pay your last respects to Thanh Nga," suggested the friend who escorted me to a hotel.

Assassination.

"Last respects!" I said, appalled. Thanh Nga was South Vietnam's most talented and popular actress from the avant-garde Renovation Theater which, after years of struggle for survival in the sex-crime wilderness of occupation attractions, had blossomed into life after liberation.

The star of stars, the Jane Fonda-Vanessa Redgrave was Thanh Nga, high on the list of personalities I wanted to interview. "She was assassinated just four days ago," explained my friend. "The funeral will be tomorrow, but you will be on your way to Hanoi."

At the club of the Association of Artists and Theater Workers, white-clad people of all ages, many of them weeping, filed past the coffin and portrait of the actress, halting to bow and place some incense sticks in a bronze urn. Prominent among the mourners were Thanh Nga's mother and Huy Hanh, secretary of the Association, a poet and writer—author of the play in which the actress was playing the lead role when she was assassinated.

On March 13, 1977, Thanh Nga had been the victim of the first assassination attempt which left fragments of a hand

with two men aboard. It was all over in a few seconds.

Dirty tricks department.

Over half a million people attended Thanh Nga's funeral on Dec. 1. While no one suggested that President Hua Kuo-feng or vice-premier Deng gave orders to "teach actress Thanh Nga a lesson," there was little doubt in Hochiminhville—as I discovered in a return visit—that an atmosphere had been created by the "dirty tricks department" in Peking which made such an atrocious act possible.

There was, for instance, a passage in the Peking *People's Daily* editorial of July 12, 1978, accusing Vietnam "of fanning national hatred by anti-China propaganda in digging up the historical fact that some Chinese feudal rulers had committed aggression against Vietnam." This was equivalent to demanding that Vietnam ignore in the teaching of history and her art and literature the essential elements in its survival as a nation and the formation of its national character.

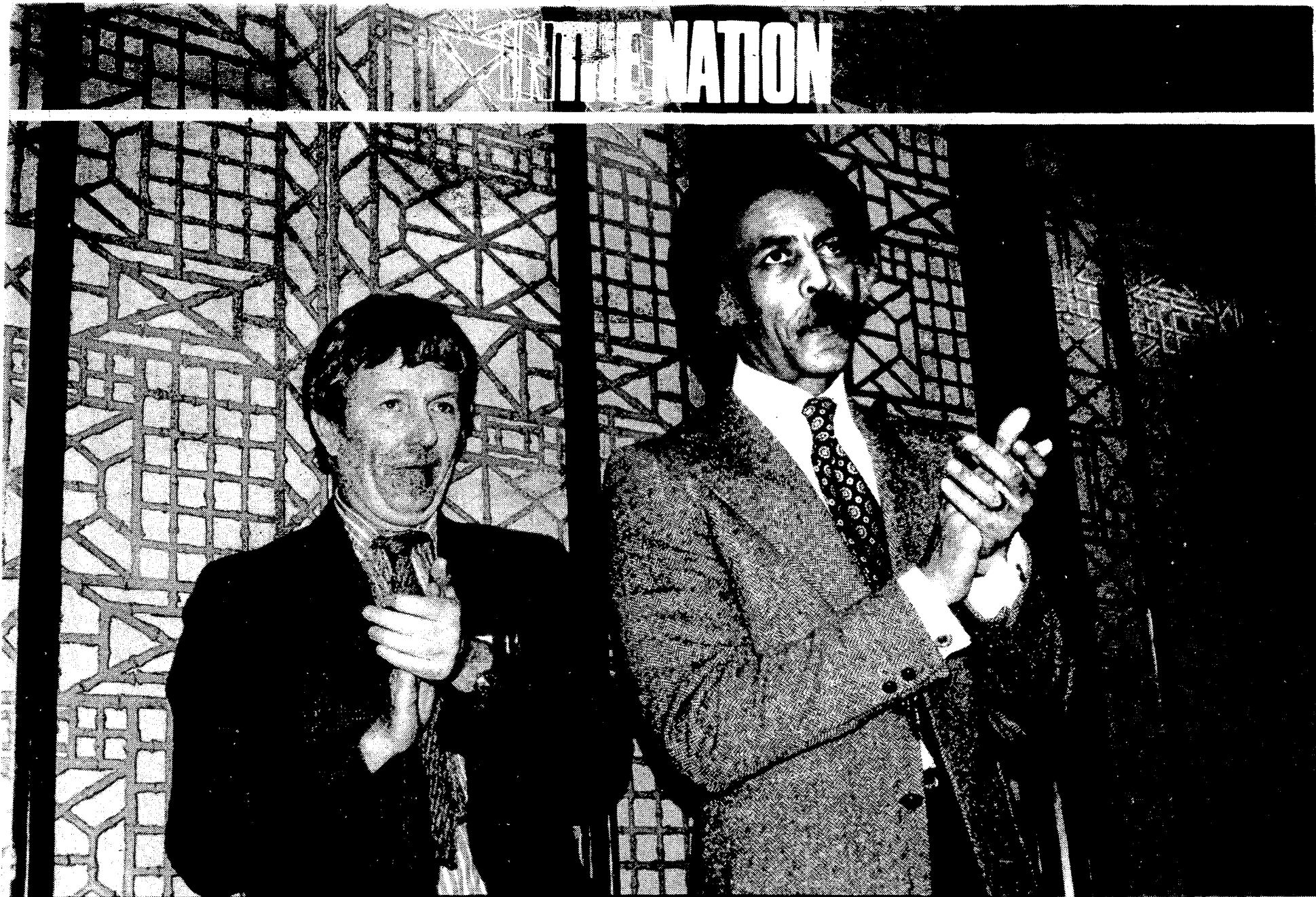
For the first thousand years of our era Vietnam was occupied by Chinese invaders and there were some 50 invasions from the north in the centuries which followed. To ask the Vietnamese to drop that from their history and literature is as absurd as trying to convince world public opinion that China's troubles with Vietnam spring from a Vietnamese rapprochement with the Soviet Union. Or that Vietnam is planning a war of aggression against China!

The grave question is, where next? In a visit to the Langson Pass area of the Vietnam-China border—the traditional Chinese invasion route to the south—the signs of military build-up were only too evident. The Chinese had cut the rail link—Vietnam's only railway link with the outside world—the day prior to my arrival.

Forty Vietnamese liaison personnel from the international checkpoint at P'ing Hsiang, the last station on the Chinese side of the border had just been expelled and arrived at Dong Dang, the last Vietnamese station, just 512 meters from the border, about the same time as myself.

Ironically, just 23 years earlier I had boarded the first train from Dong Dang to Hanoi, following the reconstruction of the line after the anti-French resistance war. Despite the U.S. bombings, the line had been kept open throughout the war of resistance against the U.S. The road

Continued on page 9.



Michael Harrington (left) and Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) at the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee's national Convention in Houston, Texas, Feb. 16.

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Democratic Socialists move left



DSOC members at Houston seemed ready to break not only with Carter, but also with liberalism.

By John Judis

HOUSTON

UNDER THE PRESSURE OF seemingly incurable economic ills, the "vital center" that has dominated American politics since Arthur Schlesinger Jr. coined the term in 1947 has all but collapsed into an incoherent heap. The right is clearly on the rise, setting the terms of public debate. But that part of the left largely unsullied by corporate centrism has also shown surprising signs of vitality.

This was apparent last week in Houston as the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), founded in 1973 when Michael Harrington led the anti-war faction out of the old Socialist party, held its third biennial convention at the airport Holiday Inn.

In two years since its last convention in Chicago, DSOC has grown from 2000 to 3000 members. It participated effectively at the Democratic Party mid-term convention; it has developed local chapters, which spearheaded several socialist election campaigns last fall; and it has made an opening to students, Hispanics and feminists.

But DSOC's membership is still relatively small—the similarly structured American Conservative Union has 325,000 members—and its influence over regular and administration Democrats is waning rather than waxing. With the 1980 election approaching—not to mention a possible Constitutional Convention—DSOC members find themselves somewhat frustrated and isolated. One question that occupied the 150 delegates and 100 observers who came to Houston was what to do about the renegade Carter and the Republican-dominated Democratic Congress.

Challenge to Carter.

An important part of DSOC's strategy has been to build what it calls the "Democratic left"—a reform coalition in the Democratic Party that backs liberal programs and candidates. As an official

group inside the Democratic Party, DSOC also has pledged to do battle with Republicans in final elections, as it did in the 1976 presidential race.

But in Houston, DSOC members were ready to break not only with Carter, but also with liberalism as a vehicle for a reform movement.

"American capitalism," DSOC chairman Michael Harrington said in his keynote address, "is in the midst of a crisis that bewilders the conventional wisdom of both liberals and conservatives." The crisis manifests itself in combined inflation and unemployment; it is caused by the growth of multinationals and increased competition within the capitalist world. Its roots are in the corporate-dominated economy and state.

In the face of this crisis, Harrington noted, conservatives offer "a philosophy without a program," while "American liberalism still basically adheres to the New Deal strategy of leaving the corporate infrastructure alone and creating an economic environment in which it can function."

Harrington reasserted the need for DSOC, through its Democratic Agenda coalition, and through the United Auto Workers Progressive Alliance and the Citizen-Labor Energy Coalition, to fight for national health insurance, regulation of bank credit, a public energy corporation, the implementation of the Humphrey-Hawkins Act, a drop in defense spending and the passage of SALT II. (Harrington labelled the passage of SALT II a "major priority" and warned that liberals must now choose "guns or butter.") Harrington also called for measures that "point clearly in a socialist direction": among them, employee-consumer representation on corporate boards, workers' control over plant and office conditions and worker ownership through corporate profits being plowed into an employee stock fund.

But, Harrington noted, such programs or demands are not enough in the face of a President who ignored the 1976 Democratic platform, which contained some of the

same points, and has "followed the same game plan that Richard Nixon did in 1969-71"—increased defense spending and decreasing social spending for the poor. Harrington called for a challenge to Carter in the Democratic party.

He intimated that if Carter were to win the nomination against a Republican moderate, he would advise DSOC to stay out of the race. "If the choice is between an Eisenhower Democrat and an Eisenhower Republican, there is no choice," he said.

But what to do? Two resolutions were offered, urging Harrington to run against Carter, but while not shutting the door on a challenge, Harrington declined to throw his hat in the ring. (See accompanying story.)

Harrington proposed, and the convention accepted, that DSOC organize for the fall "a national meeting of progressives" around the theme of a "Program in search of a President and a Congress." Such a meeting could inspire Sen. Edward Kennedy or a heretofore unknown "Eugene McCarthy of 1980" to step forward to challenge Carter.

Harrington later acknowledged that this strategy puts DSOC in the position of "Waiting for Teddy." It also puts the future back onto the sagging shoulders of a fading liberalism.

"It will be for Teddy," Harrington told the press, "but I wouldn't depend on him for solutions." Harrington said that he expected that if Kennedy were to defeat Carter in the primaries, he would "move toward the center."

The strategy also assumes that a 1979-80 recession will change the political climate and encourage a left-wing challenge. Asked what he thought DSOC could do about the balanced budget mania that is sweeping the country, Harrington smiled and shrugged. "When unemployment rises to 7.5 percent," he said, "enthusiasm [for balanced budgets] is going to evaporate."

Creating a socialist presence.

The other part of DSOC's strategy has been to build support for "democratic socialism"—both through its activity in the Democratic left and by acquiring as members notables like Gloria Steinem or Julian Bond, who could lend DSOC and

socialism a certain legitimacy.

Prior to 1977, most DSOC members did little except receive the monthly newsletter. The Democratic Agenda work was carried on largely by the New York-based national staff.

At the 1977 convention, some members organized an "activist caucus" that urged DSOC to develop functioning local chapters and local activity and to link up with community organizations. By 1979, DSOC had 40 functioning "locals," but some delegates thought still more emphasis on local organization was needed.

A "left caucus" was organized at Houston, which incorporated the local activists' complaints, and also added some new ones: particularly that DSOC was not sufficiently stressing its socialist side. "We have tended to blur the distinction between mass work and creating a socialist presence," national board member Bogdan Denitch told a left caucus meeting of about 50 delegates.

The left caucus presented a set of proposals to the convention calling for building local coalitions around local issues, encouraging both internal and external socialist education, and identifying DSOC as a socialist organization in its national work. The left caucus members also joined other delegates who were urging that DSOC explore a merger with the New American Movement (NAM), an 800-member democratic socialist organization that emphasizes community organizing.

The "left caucus," partly by its provocative appellation, later changed to "left grouping," caused some grumbling among delegates. Announcements of its meetings were hissed, and Denitch was accused of ego-tripping. One DSOC founder insisted that its membership was largely made up of recent recruits.

But the wide support its proposals achieved from new and old members belied some of these charges. "I like DSOC," one DSOC founder said, "but I wish Mike Harrington would talk more socialism like Norman Thomas did."

The resolutions passed by the convention contained left caucus proposals for education and local organizing. DSOC members were urged "to run explicitly as socialists in serious Democratic party primary campaigns" and within the Dem-

ocratic Agenda, DSOC was to "clearly identify itself as the democratic socialist group within the coalition." The proposal to explore a NAM merger was also overwhelmingly approved. (See accompanying story.)

New wine in old bottles.

DSOC's history as well as some of its members go back to the bitter feuds of the '30s, '40s and '50s among communists and socialists, and to the new left battles of the '60s. But DSOC has shown a remarkable ability to adjust to the political realities of the '70s. (Relying on a dated version of this history, Rep. Ron Dellums in a prepared speech at Houston, blasted the right-wingers at "Contemporary [i.e. Commentary] and Dissent," causing Dissent editor Harrington to turn white as a sheet.)

DSOC's adjustment was apparent not merely in the easy acceptance of the left caucus proposals. Its ranks have come to include ex-SDSers, left socialists and ex-Communists. Having begun with a base among left-wing labor leaders, it now can count as members younger trade unionists, Hispanics, feminists, and students. The only group missing, for the most part, are younger black activists.

The delegates at the 1979 convention reflected these new constituencies. Among them were these recent recruits:

•Joe Finkbeiner is in his 30s, an electrician at the Lansing, Mich., Oldsmobile plant. He is president of UAW local 1618 and was elected as a delegate to the 1978 Democratic party midterm convention.

•Trudy Robideau is a longtime labor organizer and Democratic Party worker from San Diego. In her late 30s, she temporarily joined the Peace and Freedom party and the International Socialists during the Vietnam war, but then grew disgusted with them and joined DSOC. "Being in the ultra-left, I was outside the real world," she said. Running as a socialist, she was elected a delegate to the Democratic midterm convention.

•Francesco Lucovina is Puerto Rican, a leader of the Democratic Party in the South Bronx. Along with Cuban exile Michael Rivas, he helped found DSOC's Hispanic Commission in the fall of 1977.

DSOC votes to explore NAM merger

No measure better indicated the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee's willingness to risk its past than the proposal to explore a merger with the New American Movement (NAM).

NAM was founded in 1971 by veterans of the anti-war and women's movements. Its initial aim was to make the economy the issue of the '70s in the same way as the war had been the issue of the '60s. Out of agitation against high taxes, wage-price controls, and unemployment, NAM would build a mass socialist movement.

Reflecting its origins in '60s direct action, many NAM members were initially opposed to electoral activity. Having encountered unions as proponents of the war, they were also largely anti-union. And having been imbued with student movement anti-authoritarianism, they shunned centralized organization in favor of a loose coalition of chapters.

In 1973, when DSOC began, the only similarity between it and NAM was the idea of democratic socialism for the U.S.

But having failed to build a mass organization—indeed, NAM had dwindled from 400 in 1971 to 200 by 1973—several NAM chapters began to participate in elections and work in unions, as well as in community organizing campaigns against utility hikes or high rents.

NAM now has over 40 chapters and 800 dues-paying members. While it is still divided on whether to work in the Democratic party and whether to participate in coalitions with labor leadership, the majority of NAM members now favor both.

To DSOC's Jim Chapin, who first proposed the merger resolution, a merger would strengthen each organization. "DSOC is strong where NAM is weak: in the ability to develop and follow a

national strategy which has some impact on the larger political world," he said. "But we have been weak...in developing an active cadre of members at the local level, in local organizations, in socialist 'culture,' and in ability to develop serious internal discussions." Chapin also cited as a strength NAM's socialist-feminism.

Chapin and joint NAM-DSOC member Harry Boyte foresee a year or two of talks, which would hopefully lead to a decision to form a new organization with a new name. Boyte thought that besides the members of NAM and DSOC, the new organization would attract "many folks who have been on the fringe of both organizations."

Chapin expected, however, that NAM would have trouble accepting DSOC's insistence that Michael Harrington remain chair of any new organization and that the new organization retain DSOC's membership in the Socialist International.

Who is left?

The NAM resolution was expected to be highly controversial. In the debate at Houston, Alex Spinrad of Washington, D.C., echoed one DSOC misgiving. "It is no secret," he said, "that NAM considers itself to our 'left.' It is far from clear what 'left' means in such a context, except a rhetoric and style which alienates many mass constituents from socialism and socialists."

Spinrad and other opponents of the merger resolution urged that DSOC continue recruiting from its liberal "right" rather than from its supposed "left."

Democratic Agenda organizer Marjorie Phye assured the delegates that among NAM members "there were many democratic socialists like us." Bogdan Denitch argued that DSOC should



Harry Boyte (left), Max Gordon (center), DSOC-NAM, Richard Healey of NAM.

welcome committed radicals as new members.

The final vote was not close at all. With 50 delegates having already left, it was 91 to 10 for exploring the merger.

The main obstacle to any merger may come from NAM, not DSOC. One NAM member from Austin who was observing the conference, confirmed Chapin's fears about NAM reactions. He wouldn't want to be in the Socialist International, he said, or in an organization with social-democrats. He also would not want to "inherit" Michael Harrington as a leader.

But NAM's National Secretary Richard Healey was more positive about the merger. "I'm in favor of exploring it," he said. But he added, "I don't think NAM people know much about DSOC, especially about the social democracy issue. DSOC is a complex organization."

Healey said that the proposal to explore a merger would probably be taken up in August when NAM has its annual convention.

—John Judis

DSOC chose Houston as the site of its convention partly to show its concern for Hispanics. Under Lucovina's and Rivas's leadership, DSOC now boasts a largely Cuban chapter in Miami, Chicano members in Texas and Puerto Ricans in New York. Crucial to this process, Rivas explained, was DSOC's support for the independence of Puerto Rico. Rivas termed this decision the Hispanic Commission's "biggest achievement."

DSOC also now has a women's caucus. Besides following its recommendations on substantive programs, DSOC voted to make its national board half men, half women.

And it has created a "youth section," which held a meeting in New York last fall that was attended by 160 students. At the Houston convention, the delegates voted to hire a student organizer.

In his report to the convention, National Secretary Jack Clark summed up DSOC's past and future. "In 1973," Clark said, "DSOC had a bold program—mere survival. Now we have to set out to become the largest democratic socialist organization since the 1930s." ■

Harrington, Dellums still may run

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (DSOC) members agree that someone from the left has to challenge Jimmy Carter in the 1980 primaries, but they don't know who it will be.

In late fall, DSOC's National Board voted by a two-to-one margin to encourage Michael Harrington to explore a presidential bid. It was understood that Harrington, not DSOC, would have to make the decision and be responsible for the campaign.

Harrington envisaged an educational campaign. "I was not proposing to go to the White House," he said. "We wouldn't run a national campaign; we would pick areas where a campaign might raise issues and mobilize the Democratic left."

"What George Wallace did from the right, I was proposing to do from the left."

But in talking to left-wing labor officials, Democratic party workers, and community activists, Harrington encountered little enthusiasm. "There was not enough appeal to get that minimal seriousness," he said. "It was not taken seriously by any of the constituencies we wanted."

"You don't want to get up during the campaign and say, 'I speak on behalf of blacks, women, and working people,' and look around and not see any of them."

Most people he talked to were "Waiting for Teddy." Harrington agrees that a Kennedy candidacy would be preferable to his own, since Kennedy might actually win the presidency. But if neither Kennedy nor any other prominent liberal enters the race by next fall, he "will certainly look at it again."

"I've backed off for now," he said.

DSOC member Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) also told DSOC delegates in Houston that he thought "a progressive challenge to Carter was necessary."

Like Harrington, Dellums has held discussions about his running and decided temporarily against it for "personal reasons." "It's not what I want to do," he said.

But also like Harrington, he has not "closed the door" and will reconsider if no one else enters.

Asked about the "Waiting for Teddy" problem, Dellums acknowledged it was an important factor. "Kennedy ought to be approached by some people on the left and told 'get in or get out,'" he said.

Dellums fears that if no left candidate enters the race in the next three months, Carter will have it all sewed it up. "He'll be by you like a Mack truck," Dellums said.

Asked whether he had discussed his candidacy with any major black organization, Dellums said he had not. ■

RADIATION DANGERS

Scientists charge NIOSH cover-up

By Bob Datz

CHARGES OF GOVERNMENTAL cover-up and interference have poisoned the atmosphere surrounding a Center for Disease Control study of death rates among nuclear shipyard workers, with much of the criticism coming from prominent scientists asked to oversee the investigation.

Caught in the middle of the controversy are past and present employees of the Portsmouth (N.H.) Naval Shipyard, a submarine overhaul facility where workers have been exposed to low-level nuclear radiation since the early '50s.

Recent conduct by officials of the Navy and the CDC's National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) has alarmed at least three of the radiation experts invited to serve as consultants. Labor leaders are concerned about the veracity of the study's results, which could also apply to workers at eight other nuclear shipyards on both American coasts.

Senators Edmund Muskie (D-ME) and John Durkin (D-NH) called for congressional investigation of cover-up charges relating to the study of the naval facility near the Maine border. Criticism of the government agencies' has included charges of denying consultants access to needed source data, loading the consultants panel with scientists beholden to the federal nuclear establishment, restricting the scope of the investigation and delaying its completion.

An independent study of mortality among over 100,000 workers at the New Hampshire shipyard during the 1954-77 period was completed last year. Its results prompted the Maine and New Hampshire congressional delegations to press the Carter administration to take a closer look. With the Navy refusing to assist, Boston hematologist Dr. Thomas Najarian contacted next of kin for over 1700 deceased shipyard employees. He concluded that death rates for these workers from all types of cancer are more than double the national average, and leukemia deaths occur four times as frequently as in the general population (See *ITT*, March 22, 1978).

Balancing or stacking?

Najarian's findings brought about the NIOSH study begun last spring. Concerned congressmen nominated three renowned nongovernment experts to serve as consultants to the NIOSH investigators to ensure impartiality for a study of one government agency by another—Drs. Thomas Mancuso of the University of Pittsburgh, Irwin Bross of Buffalo's Roswell Park Memorial Institute, and Karl Morgan of the Georgia Institute of Technology.

Mancuso and Bross, leading independent researchers in occupational and diagnostic low-level radiation, and Morgan, one of the pioneers in the science of epidemiology, were welcome choices to shipyard labor leaders.

After these nominations were announced, CDC director Dr. William Foege appointed six additional consultants. NIOSH project director Philip Bierbaum explained that Foege wanted "all scientific viewpoints represented." While he declined to define "scientific viewpoints," he told *IN THESE TIMES* that Bross, Morgan, and Mancuso "all stood on the same side of the issue; they're all very strong proponents of the idea that low-level radiation is very detrimental."

Terming the expanded consultants committee a "political panel," Bross told the Associated Press that "three of the appointments" must be considered to openly side with the government's views on nuclear health dangers.

Mancuso withdraws.

In fact, Bierbaum and NIOSH don't consider the consultants members of any committee, but as nine individuals. After nearly a year, they had their first meeting on Jan. 31, which consisted of little more than a one-day tour of the Portsmouth shipyard. Bross refused the tour. His own misgivings have led to Mancuso's withdrawal in December. He claimed that his conditions for acceptance of the post had not been met by the Navy and NIOSH.

Like Bross, Mancuso was given the impression that his role in the investigation would be an active one. He had stipulated that he would work only if given access to records he considered relevant. While he received no response from Dr. Foege in the four months after he addressed these concerns to him last summer, Bierbaum's predecessor at NIOSH assured him that access could be worked out.

But after Bierbaum took charge of the investigation late last year, Mancuso was told that all relevant data was available at NIOSH offices in Cincinnati. Bierbaum also stated publicly that there is no reason for Mancuso to have access to the shipyard or confidential medical records. Mancuso denied that confidential medical records were ever requested.

Labor leaders were upset by Mancuso's withdrawal. The president of one local observed his departure as "an ominous indication that the independent panel we were promised may be delivered to us with their hands tied behind their backs."

Meanwhile, labor representatives who had been told they could accompany the scientists on the Jan. 31 tour arrived at the shipyard gates to find they had been denied security clearance. According to AFL-CIO industrial hygienist Peggy Seminario, she and John O'Brian, president of the Portsmouth Metal Trades Council representing 15 local unions whose members work at the shipyard, have heard the last-minute lockout



Richard Stromberg

Demonstrators in Rosemont, Ill., protest the arms bazaar, Defense Technology '79, held for last weekend in the Chicago suburb. More than 2000 people demonstrated against the arms show throughout the four days, with 21 of them arrested for acts of civil disobedience.

blamed on each other by both NIOSH and navy officials.

Delay another cover-up.

Even given the study's limitations, it isn't scheduled to be completed until at least 1981. That, Bross also charges, is a cover-up. Najarian has promised to complete a comprehensive and greatly expanded study of shipyard deaths within three months.

According to Najarian, NIOSH provided death records to him after months of negotiations. He is providing NIOSH with the names of the workers whose cases he investigated in his first study in exchange for new material. Yet according to Bierbaum, the reason for the slow pace of the NIOSH study to date is the fact that they "are just now getting the data from Dr. Najarian." Bross thinks there are other reasons.

Anti-nuke folks gaining support

By Florence Hamlish Levinsohn

THE OUTCOME OF TWO RECENT trials may indicate growing public support for the movement against nuclear power. The cases break a long record of convictions and maximum sentences for acts of civil disobedience.

Even when there has been broad support for a cause, as in the civil rights movement, wide public support for civil disobedience has not been common. A break in this tradition might indicate a change in people's attitude toward civil disobedience, but the evidence from these trials is that it is a deep concern about nuclear power that has overwhelmed people's resistance to civil disobedience.

In one trial, the jury acquitted. In the other, the judge, having imposed the maximum sentence, later apologized and drastically reduced the sentences.

In January, a Lake County Circuit Court jury acquitted 20 demonstrators on charges of criminal trespass at the Commonwealth Edison generating plant in Zion, Ill.

The protesters had argued that their sit-in had been necessary, that the dangers posed by radiation made their act a necessity. This "necessity defense" had been used successfully earlier in Oregon by other civil disobedients in the anti-nuclear movement.

The key to the acquittal in these cases was the cooperation of the judge. Traditionally, in trials for acts of civil disobedience, judges have permitted into testimony only material narrowly relevant to the charges, usually simple trespassing, resisting arrest, disorderly conduct and similar charges that carry jail sentences and fines.

Testimony that attempts to justify these acts—which defendants always admitted—attempts to enlarge the trial to the reasons for which the acts were undertaken is not usually permitted into evidence.

Only if the jury can be told the story behind the defendants' actions can it have an opportunity to judge the case on those merits rather than the simple question of whether the accused are guilty of trespassing, etc.

In Zion, it was the action of the judge that turned the case. Associate Circuit Court Judge Alphonse Witt permitted the 20 demonstrators to explain to the jury their reasons for their actions and admitted the testimony of experts on the dangers of nuclear power.

The foreman of the jury said afterward that although two jurors had initially been inclined toward conviction, their discussions of the testimony they had heard convinced them all that the demonstrators were innocent.

Diablo Canyon.

In a similar case in San Luis Obispo, Cal., the judge refused to allow expert testimony in the trial of 20 of 487 people arrested for occupying and blockading the nearly completed Diablo Canyon nuclear plant last August. Further, after having

permitted the defendants to give their reasons for protesting to show their "state of mind," the judge then instructed the jury to disregard the testimony.

It was clear, however, that the jury was not able to disregard that testimony. First, it took them two days to reach a verdict. Then they convicted the defendants on the smallest charges only.

Then, they streamed out of the jury box to embrace and shake hands with the defendants, telling them that they were convinced against nuclear power but could find no legal basis for acquittal. The next day, the jury foreman took the stand to plead for leniency in sentencing.

The impact on the jury of the protesters' testimony apparently had a delayed effect on the judge. Initially, Judge Robert Carter imposed a mandatory \$400 fine, a two-year probation against trespassing on private property, and a 90-day suspended jail term. He told the defendants that his sentence was designed specifically to deter future demonstrations.

Later, at the pre-trial hearing for the 432 still to be tried, Judge Carter made a dramatic apology. He admitted that the defendants were "idealists," unlike the felons he usually heard. Having said, "I apologize to you for, I think, as a judge, I really didn't handle the matter properly," he modified the sentences. Defendants who refused to take probation were given a 15 rather than 90-day jail sentence and a reduced fine.

The impact of the message of the anti-nuclear protesters is obviously growing.

UNITED FARM WORKERS

Farm Worker's funeral draws 10,000



Cathy Murphy

By Larry Remer

CALEXICO, CALIF.

A FUNERAL MASS ATTENDED by nearly 10,000 members of the United Farm Workers union, their families, and their friends, a fearful Cesar Chavez bade farewell to a UFW member who was shot and killed by the foreman of the lettuce ranch he was striking.

The slain striker, Rufino Contreras, 27, was the first fatality in the five-week old Imperial Valley lettuce strike. More than 4,000 UFW members have walked off their jobs at ten lettuce ranches in the rich Imperial Valley, 110 miles east of San Diego where more than 50 percent of the nation's winter vegetable crop is grown.

Tension has been running high in the strike with instances of grower-instigated violence mounting. Dozens of UFW picketers have been arrested and several reports of sheriff's deputies and armed guards fired by the growers firing on striking farm workers appeared in the press prior to Rufino Contreras' death.

The incident that led to Rufino's death crystallized the struggle and put a human face on the strike.

On the day he was killed, Rufino was among a group of six UFW picketers who left the picket line to enter the fields of the Saikhon Ranch where they worked in an effort to talk to the scab laborers about the strike. Three ranch hands—including the ranch foreman—opened fire on the group as they came onto the fields, forcing Rufino and his friends to dive for cover. Rufino was hit once above the eye with a bullet from a .38. Even though he and his companions hiding in the brush were unarmed, the ranch hands continued firing.

Rufino's father, a farm laborer who also was striking the Saikhon Ranch, was with the picketers back by the road and had to be restrained physically to be kept from running onto the field where his son lay bleeding. It took police more than half an hour to arrive on the scene, and by the time they did Rufino was dead.

"They answered with guns."

"What is the worth of a man?" asked Cesar Chavez in a moving eulogy for Rufino. "What is the worth of a farm worker? Rufino and his father and his brother

together gave the company 20 years of their labor. They were faithful workers who helped build up the wealth of their boss, helped build up the wealth of his ranch."

"What was their reward for their service and sacrifice? When they petitioned for a more just share of what they themselves produce, when they spoke out against the injustice they endured, the company answered them with bullets. The company sent hired guns to quiet Rufino Contreras."

Many farm workers wept openly as the funeral mass for Rufino was said. A solemn, somber crowd, they gathered in a dusty clearing called "El Ojito" (the hole)—the staging area early each morning where thousands of Mexican laborers cross each day to meet labor contractors who ferry them out to the fields to work.

Though delegations representing UFW locals from as far away as Oregon and Texas were in attendance, the majority of the crowd hailed from Mexicali, the sprawling Mexican border city just opposite Calexico which many farm laborers—including Rufino Contreras—called home. For many Mexican migrants, Mexicali is the gateway to the vast fertile fields of California.

Many cried out their assent when Chavez declared in his eulogy, "Rufino is not dead. Wherever farm workers organize, stand up for their rights, and strike for justice, Rufino Contreras is with them."

"If Rufino were alive today, what would he tell us? He would tell us don't be afraid. Don't be discouraged. He would tell us don't cry for me. Organize."

The only establishment political figure in attendance was California Gov. Jerry Brown, who offered his condolences to Rufino's widow and children in a short statement to the crowd. Brown carefully avoided taking sides in the strike, however, and left promptly after the service to meet with some of the growers.

Mile-long procession.

After the service, Rufino's casket, draped with a UFW black eagle, was carried through Calexico by an honor guard. Instead of the traditional black and red banners of the UFW, the mourners carried black flags with white eagles stamped on them. Marching four abreast in silence, the procession stretched for more than a mile through the town and along rural roads past empty fields.

Whenever the line of black flags came

into view, passers-by stopped in a respectful silence. Normally a bustling border town of more than 4,000, Calexico fell still as the funeral passed through its streets. Several hundred onlookers were moved by the march to join it for the four-mile trek to the cemetery.

During the four-day interval between Rufino's death and burial, a virtual gen-

Contreras was hit once above the eyes by ranch hands who kept firing their .38s at unarmed workers.

eral strike gripped the lettuce fields. Immediately after the shooting, Cesar Chavez announced a fast and period of mourning during which he asked that all work in the fields stop.

Chavez also announced that after the funeral he would lead a delegation of UFW picketers into the fields to tell scab laborers a strike was in progress. He said he would invite being arrested and shot at if necessary.

However, the day after the funeral, Sungold, one of the Valley's biggest growers, announced it would negotiate directly with the UFW and break ranks with other lettuce farms. With crop losses estimated at more than \$5 million a day, this action served to encourage the strikers that their efforts were beginning to have an impact. Chavez postponed his planned entrance onto the fields to go to Los Angeles for negotiations.

In the meantime, a blue-ribbon panel of church and union officials headed by former Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally investigated the situation in the Imperial Valley at Chavez' request. Their report, which sought out the root causes of the violence, singled out "the presence of strikebreakers" in the region as the prime factor. ■

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LABOR

Labor lukewarm on wage insurance plan

By Josh Martin

NEW YORK

SINCE CARTER'S "REAL WAGE insurance" plan was unveiled Jan. 29, labor leaders have shifted back and forth in their support. Most of them initially rejected the plan as being too little protection at too high a premium. Later, George Meany said he would approve a plan broadened to cover every worker getting a 7 percent or less wage increase.

Carter's wage insurance plan is tied to a wage-price control plan. Under the plan, employees would get income tax credits to compensate their losses should the inflation rate in 1979 exceed 7 percent.

Workers whose wage increases are 7 percent or less in 1979 would qualify for a tax credit amounting to 1 percent of a worker's first \$20,000 for each percentage point that the 1979 inflation rate tops the 7 percent limit.

But the AFL-CIO took steps Feb. 23 to scuttle the President's "voluntary" wage-price controls. They initiated a court suit challenging the right of the administration to deny government contracts to firms whose wage increases exceed the 7 percent limit, arguing that such limits are both mandatory and illegal.

According to Allen Zack, spokesman for the AFL-CIO, the enforcement of the controls violates the 1974 law extending the mandate of the Council and on Wage and Price Controls. In particular, the Carter administration sanctions run counter to that passage which states that "nothing in this act authorizes the continuance in position, or reimposition, of any manda-

tory economic controls with respect to prices, wages..."

Indeed, says Zack, "there is no statute which says the President has the right to cancel any government contracts except if it is in violation of existing statutes. He doesn't have the right to enforce wage-price controls by withholding contracts."

The court action may well be the death blow to President Carter's already shaken "voluntary" anti-inflation plan. Ironically, this action is being taken by one of the key groups calling for mandatory controls. Dale Larsen, a spokesman for the AFL-CIO explained that the labor group would seek a "superceding law" with the advice and consent of Congress. "Let's see what can be done," he said.

Between two evils.

Labor's backing for wage insurance appears to be a choice between two evils: "voluntary" wage-price controls that limit wages but not profits, and an "insurance" package that may offer workers some respite from the ravages of the 8.5 percent inflation rate expected this year.

"There's some degree of fairness in the insurance plan," observed Gar Alperovitz, co-director of the National Center for Economic Alternatives. "Labor has not been the driving force of inflation; workers should be compensated."

But wage insurance is not compensation enough for union members who have seen their real incomes slashed by inflation and government policy. The endorsements by labor leaders contain broad hints of disenchantment.

In a letter to the members of the House Ways and Means Committee, Fitzsimmons told the representatives he endorsed

wage insurance, but reiterated the widespread labor demands for raising the 7 percent wage ceiling to a more realistic 8 or 9 percent limit.

Organized labor has tilted towards wage insurance only as a means of minimizing labor's income loss—it falls far short of the mandatory wage-price controls the AFL-CIO leaders want to see instituted to stabilize the economy.

However, many workers aren't covered: farmers, the self-employed, and those whose businesses employ 50 or fewer workers. And the standards to be applied for those under the wage insurance plan are confusing and complex. It would require an exact determination of compliance with the 7 percent standards, including pension, vacation and health insurance contributions not considered income by the Internal Revenue Service.

Though the Teamsters have indicated their support for the proposal, it is not the wholehearted backing the administration would prefer. "The program is based on inequity," a Teamster spokesman said. "The fundamental areas where inflation has been galloping away—energy, health care, etc.—haven't been touched."

Union officials and liberal politicians have suggested that if Congress and the administration really wanted to do something about inflation, it would enact controls on all costs and all sources of income.

"The nation and the workers we represent will be much better served through a fully legislated program of economic controls," Kenneth Young, legislative director for the AFL-CIO, told the House Ways and Means Committee.

UAW strong supporter.

"The administration's program provides limited protection to a limited number of workers under confusing and inequitable conditions," Young declared. "Even if it worked without a hitch, it could be incredibly costly and only transfer the bite of inflation from the private sector to the taxpayer.... It contains too many flaws, inequities and complications to make it viable."



Meany is pressing Carter for mandatory controls or universal wage insurance.

However, some unions, notably the United Auto Workers, have come out unabashedly in support of the plan.

UAW president Fraser gave the plan a needed boost, declaring wage insurance the "centerpiece" of the administration's anti-inflation plan. Fraser said that real wage insurance should be quickly passed "so that workers with contracts being negotiated will know where they stand."

The UAW and the major auto manufacturers will begin contract talks in July. Fraser and other union officials point out that without some form of wage insurance, it would be impossible to expect workers to adhere to the voluntary 7 percent wage standard.

Blumenthal, who has launched a vigorous campaign for the wage insurance plan, urged members of the Ways and Means Committee to pass the measure "as soon as possible."

"We are dealing with a specific problem of wage-price momentum for which the old ideas have proved inadequate," he said.

But such congressional support as has been declared has been mixed with some damning asides.

NLB

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IN THE WORLD

WORLD REACTIONS

European left condemns China for its invasion

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

CHINA'S DESIRE TO PROVE that it is not a "pitiful helpless giant" (as chairman Nixon would say) by invading Vietnam has not aroused widespread sympathy in the world. On an official level, Western Europe largely reproduced Washington's ostensibly neutral tilt toward China, but French Minister of Justice Alain Peyrefitte took the occasion to declare that "the spirit of conquest is contrary to the Chinese soul."

Peyrefitte likened the attack to "the punitive expeditions carried out by Israel" stemming from an uncomfortable feeling of being "surrounded."

And most French newspapers, breaking the news on Monday morning, managed to make China look like the victim with such headlines as "Moscow threatens Peking." Then there was the chorus of pundits whose delight in drawing the dubious conclusion that "ideology is dead" seemed to outweigh their distress that idiocy was very much alive. French business circles seem mesmerized by the Chinese market for military and other advanced technology.

But elsewhere, notably in Japan and West Germany, the business community seemed to be thinking that selling weaponry to China might not be such a great idea after all. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* said West Germany should provide the balance of power, and also, called on the Carter administration to "make a special effort to reassure Moscow" and dispel the impression created by Deng Xiaoping's anti-Soviet remarks during his American trip, that Washington had encouraged the attack by providing "political and strategic backing and cover."

•The *Japan Times* stressed that no one wanted to see China play the role of policeman in Asia, and Japanese business circles were wondering how Sino-Japanese trade might be affected, considering that Japan suspended its aid to Vietnam after Vietnamese intervention in Cambodia last month.

•Britain was going ahead with plans to sell China up to 100 vertical take-off Harrier fighter planes, but Labor Party chairman Frank Aitken called the sale "indefensible" and "dangerous," and any further military contracts could run into trouble. The *Financial Times* said Peking had taken "an enormous gamble" that would "confirm the worst 'Yellow Peril' fears of the Soviet Union," possibly jeopardize plans for purchasing Western technology and give a "hard knock" to China's image as a peaceful neighbor in Southeast Asia.

•China's didactic attack probably seemed most tedious of all to India, whose foreign minister, Ayaz Bhatia Vijayee, was in Shanghai on a visit meant to heal relations embittered by China's 1962 strike into Indian territory. Vijayee punctuated his government's official protest to Peking by going home early.

•Eurocommunists' dreams of harmonious balanced relations with Peking to offset Moscow seemed to go up in smoke. Spanish party leader Santiago Carrillo called China's aggression against Vietnam an "authentic example of hegemonism."

French Communists imply that U.S. policies encourage Chinese aggression against Vietnam.

We who condemned the invasion of Czechoslovakia and did not approve Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea, condemn the invasion of one socialist country by another."

•The French Communist party, recalling that it had fought for full diplomatic recognition of China when it was "isolated and attacked by the very ones who today are seeking to use it against the USSR," called the Chinese aggression "unjustifiable, inadmissible, and full of dangers to world peace."

The party newspaper, *L'Humanite*, said it was "no accident" that the aggression came right after Deng visited the U.S. When Deng spoke of "giving a lesson" to the Vietnamese, "not only did the American government make quite sure not to raise the slightest protest but one can legitimately think that it provided underhanded encouragement." The PCF multiplied gestures of solidarity with Vietnam.

•Popular reaction was strongest in Italy, where support for Vietnam was most developed during the war. A Communist party provincial congress in Livorno dropped everything else to discuss the news, and PCI secretary general Enrico

Lessons

Continued from page 3.

from Dong Dang to what was formerly known as "Friendship Gate" at the frontier point of Nam Quang was closed with barbed wire barricades. Anti-tank obstacles had been erected on the road leading into Don Dang from the south and people were building air raid shelters in their villages and in the roadside cuttings.

Troop trains arrive.

On a hill overlooking Dong Dang, a newly-installed Chinese radar installation scanned the area 24 hours a day. The expelled railway workers spoke of the arrival of troop trains at P'ing Hsiang, including not only heavy artillery but also mule-drawn cannons and mortars, which the Chinese favor for mountain warfare.

The frontier topography in the Langson Pass area is incredibly rugged and, as history has amply demonstrated, favors the defenders. Lieutenant Nguyen Tien Hoa, deputy commander of the Nam Quan border post, a calm, but alert officer, described a systematic pattern of Chinese probing attacks—the latest of which had taken place a few hours before our meeting on Christmas day.

"These are aimed at occupying the high peaks on our side of the frontier and also at capturing 'tongues' from among our armed personnel and civilians," he said. "Our troops have the strictest instructions not to violate an inch of Chinese territory but also to defend our own."



In opposing China's action, PCI secretary-general Enrico Berlinguer stressed the backwardness of China and Vietnam.

Berlinguer changed his speech to address the issue, noting that the attack raised "new and disturbing questions as to the overall orientation of Chinese policy."

"We Italian communists have long since got beyond any mythical view of revolutionary events and of the way problems are solved after victorious revolutions, especially in certain parts of the world," Berlinguer said. He recalled that the Vietnamese traditionally had to fight off Chinese invasion. But the conflict between "two countries which have fought and won great revolutionary battles and turned toward a type of socialist development" could not be explained away just

as the legacy of the past.

"It also had to do with the fact that peasant and especially nationalist factors were strong in recent revolutions in countries where the working class was also very small," he stressed.

"We Italian communists who have always fought to understand the huge problems of a country like China, its justifiable demand for its rightful place in the world, ...who have always refused to go along with excommunication and summary condemnation, nevertheless do not hesitate to express our open disapproval of the Chinese attack on Vietnam," said Berlinguer.

We have had to erect barbed wire fences along our side of the frontier and lay minefields on our side of the fences."

It was obvious that there was an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation along the frontier. It is significant that Chinese communiques report that about half their casualties from the frontier clashes come from mines, which they claim the Vietnamese have laid on their side of the frontier. If the Vietnamese request to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, and to the current president of the UN Security Council on Feb. 10, "to examine the grave situation and take appropriate measures," is acted on promptly, at least international opinion can be informed as to which side is responsible for the terribly explosive situation on Vietnam's northern frontier.

The Vietnamese note to the UN and its Security Council refers to the massing of 20 divisions of Chinese troops and "hundreds of combat planes." Vietnam has also withdrawn its best divisions from construction projects and dispatched them to the frontier areas. As to who will be "taught a lesson" in case the unthinkable worst happens, only time will tell.

Giap's foresight.

Contrary to reports from the Bangkok "analysts" that the most and best of Vietnamese armed forces are in Cambodia and Laos, my information is that Vo Nguyen Giap had withdrawn his best divisions from construction projects at least three months ago and concentrated them between Hanoi and the northern frontier.

"By preparing for the worst, we may avoid the worst," was how one of Viet-

nam's leaders explained it. It is noteworthy that the Chinese are prudent in preparing their public opinion for reverses by describing the action as a "punitive strike" after which they will return to their own side of the frontier.

If the way to Hanoi had been easy, the "lesson teaching" might go as far as the sacking and burning of the Vietnamese capitol as invaders from the north did so often over the past 2000 years.

What are Peking's overall aims? Norodom Sihanouk revealed in an interview with *New York Times* correspondent Malcolm Brown, published Feb. 9, that—in an unsuccessful effort to get him to throw in his lot with Pol Pot—Deng "predicted to me that the war in Cambodia would continue many years, perhaps 20 years." Also, that at their last meeting on Jan. 31, Sihanouk said Deng "told me he had been assured by Thailand that it will permit use of certain small ports and of overland routes for the transport of Chinese supplies to Kampuchea's guerrillas."

There are an estimated 20,000 to 30,000 "military instructors" still in Kampuchea who will obey orders from Peking to keep fighting "for 20 years" if possible.

Sihanouk in the interview quoted above states, "The Chinese told leaders of the Pol Pot regime 'We are helping you as much as we can. We will be able to do more only after China has completed its modernization...'—that is, in 20 years time. Pol Pot, or a successor, should keep Kampuchea "warm" in the meantime, apparently until China is ready for expansionist moves into Southeast Asia once "modernization" is completed. ■

GREAT BRITAIN



London shoppers pick their way along sidewalk, Feb. 2, and are dwarfed by huge pile of garbage in a market just off Victoria. Market traders offered to clear it themselves, but were refused permission by garbagemen who had joined the strike of public workers for higher pay.

Labour's hope for victory dimmed by incomes policy

By Patrick Wintour

L O N D O N

THE SOLE COMFORT FOR THE Labour party at the moment is that things cannot get any worse. The opinion polls taken in the midst of the current industrial unrest, show a 17 percent lead for Tory leader Margaret Thatcher. Labour is inextricably linked with a compromised attitude to the unions.

The government wants to postpone the election until late autumn. By that time, with the main pay battles having been settled in late April, the union-party relationship could be patched up.

Standing in the way, however, is the fact that after the Welsh and Scottish referenda on devolution, the government will probably be without the Nationalist support, which has, with the Liberals, sustained this minority government.

Labour ministers are now anticipating a long election campaign in which Thatcher, her hairstyle, her speaking manner and her opinions receive maximum exposure. It may be that she will be so confident that all her horrific qualities will feel safe enough to creep out. As one Labour minister said in private this week, "If her advisors have an ounce of sense they will keep her on a tight leash. If they have more than an ounce, they will force her to let Edward Heath back into her Cabinet."

If that quarrel is patched up then little will stop the Tories. Moreover, according to detailed research from Oxford University, the left-wing MPs have the most marginal seats. Left-wing leader and Energy Minister Tony Benn, who has rested his whole career on waiting patiently for the leadership, knows these calculations.

This is a fantastically gloomy picture to paint. There are some chinks of hope. It is possible for the government to pay a 10 percent raise to the local authority manual workers who, according to the polls, still have great public support for their

claim, despite a comprehensive anti-union media campaign. The difficulty is what comes afterwards. The teachers want 30 percent, the industrial civil servants 25 percent, the powerful miners 40 percent, the electricians 25 percent. This is known as "going for the going rate."

The Leyland combine, one beast the government thought they had tamed this pay round, are now justifiably saying that they were deceived by the management over their productivity deal. Add it all up and it is a recipe for industrial unrest right through the spring.

Prime Minister James Callaghan is said to be particularly worried by the one dog that has not yet barked, the pound. Through all the hysteria, the sterling speculators have remained calm. But Callaghan privately believes these are only two weeks left before it starts tumbling, and that it will definitely not survive spring.

New social contract.

On Feb. 21, after over three weeks of consultation between the government and the unions an electoral face-saver, a new social contract, was unveiled. The Trade Union Congress' (TUC) intention is to allow Labour to recapture their strongest electoral card, their almost mystical ability to get on with the unions.

The new voluntary agreement will stress the need to restrict the closed shop, to discipline "secondary pickets." (Even the term "secondary pickets" is totally new to industrial politics; it describes a form of picketing that has existed since the 19th century, the right to picket firms or docks only indirectly involved with the dispute.)

This new social contract is not going to mollify anyone. It is far too tentative. Fed by over a month of anti-union propaganda of both subtle and crude variety, the public doesn't have a stomach for more. Above all, it does not explain what is to be done about this pay round.

Both TUC and the government have abandoned this year's pay round. The best they can do is squeeze the public sector and hold tight to the money supply. The real victim will be the jobless.

The new social contract will not deal with a problem that has been increasingly touted by establishment commentators, the shopfloor's challenge to leadership. The assertion of the shopfloor has been a genuine cause of the disruption.

Since 1966 the number of full-time shop stewards or convenors has more than trebled to over 9,000, as has the total number of shop stewards. Many have their own offices on site, access to telephone and reasonable research facilities. These stewards owe their allegiance less and less to their trade union hierarchy and more to workers in their company regardless of union. Multi-union shop steward committees co-operating across the different plants in one company have mushroomed. Often antagonistic to traditional union structures and their officials, they feel less overawed by the authority of their national union centers.

Some unions, out of genuine desire to increase participation in their union, have consciously handed power over negotiations to the stewards. Jack Jones, the former general secretary of the transport workers, first coined the phrase "all power to the stewards" in the late '60s. It has now been picked up in other unions, particularly the hitherto centrist Municipal Workers' Union and the flourishing National Union of Public Employees. These two unions are at the center of the public sector strikes.

The devolution of power was also felt strongly during the highly organized and disciplined Ford workers' strike that broke the government's pay sanctions policy. For the first time the Ford workers' negotiating committee included a lay steward from every Ford plant in the company.

Loss of leadership.

The dispersal of power has been strengthened by the loss of two of Britain's most experienced and intelligent leaders this year. Jones retired in the summer and Hugh Scanlon, of the engineers, retired in the autumn. These are the two largest unions in the country: 2 million and 1.8 million strong, respectively. The former "terrible twins" have been replaced by

the verbose if democratic Moss Evans, who was elected in the transport workers on a ticket of free collective bargaining, and the embarrassingly ignorant Terry Duffy of the engineers. Duffy is an instinctive right-winger but an economic illiterate.

Neither of them had the authority at a crucial TUC General Council meeting in November to force through a document that used a form of words to get the TUC out of the difficult fact that their annual conference had voted for a return to free collective bargaining. The demise of that politically skilful document meant the TUC had no written framework within which to deal with the government. Evans sanctioned every strike that came his way, including the road haulers, the one dispute the government had not seen coming.

The final event that turned the TUC into an undirected missile was the loss of the influential chairman of the TUC, Tom Jackson, a bright exponent of incomes policies who had to go into hospital and have an eye removed. In other words, it is not so much that the power relations between unions and the government has shifted radically in favor of the unions but that the power relations within the unions have altered.

Rich get richer.

No trade union leader, however respected, could have won support for a fourth year of incomes policy. Workers may not know the detailed figures for the last three years, but when they hear counsel about further sacrifice, they have the intelligence to look at what the people issuing this advice are up to.

The whole government strategy has been to clear a hole in the economy to boost private profit and therefore investment and productivity. It is not a policy to please the unions committed to planning. Although real profits overall only rose 7 percent between 1970 and 1976, the profits of the top 25 companies rose over 70 percent. Senior executives have received pay increases in the last year that broke the pay policy by 20 pounds a week (1 pound = \$1.90).

Taxes for the higher paid and taxes on wealth have been relaxed with a reduction in the rate of death duties. And corporation tax, according to Professor Mervyn King, Britain's leading expert, has been effectively abolished.

Doctors in the health service, now ranting about the hospital porters being on selective strike, busted clean through the pay policy two years ago. Judges, the heads of the nationalized industries, and top civil servants won a 30 percent pay increase only six months ago. The council executives who are refusing to grant 500,000 local workers who earn no more than a minimum 42.40 pounds for a full working week an 8 percent raise got 15 percent increase for themselves last year. Many of them earn over 10,000 pounds. Such is the discreet charm of Britain's bourgeoisie.

These figures may represent the much derided politics of envy, but when an incomes policy is sold by the Prime Minister on the basis of self-sacrifice by all, the numbers game does have relevance.

It was plain for all to see that the pay policy was going to finally fall apart this year. (It had already come undone in the private sector last year when wages rose by 17 percent on average.) So it will remain one of the mysteries of British politics why Callaghan at the last minute went against an October election.

The most likely explanation may be vanity.

Callaghan started believing the press when they described him as an avuncular Moses capable of leading Britain to salvation. But the plain fact is that when the government lets down its major constituent as comprehensively as Callaghan has let down the unions in the past four years, it is inevitable that the unions will fight back in the only crude and nasty way it can. Until there is a party worthy of the unions and the working class, it will always be the same, however much the leader promises that a land of milk and honey is around the next bend. ■

Patrick Wintour covers British politics for *The New Statesman*.

MOSLEM WORLD

Islam is growing as a third force in modern politics

By David Knights

THE TRIUMPH OF THE AYATOLLAH Ruhollah Khomeini in Iran dramatically highlights an Islamic revival affecting the entire Moslem world extending from Northwest Africa to Southeast Asia and comprising over 600 million people, one-sixth of the human race.

To many Moslems today, this revival offers an alternative social system to both capitalism and communism, which they see as coming from Western roots.

•In the Soviet Union, the revival of the Moslem faith is so strong in certain areas of the Caucasus that the Communist Party has been forced to relax its anti-religious policies, and local atheists are obliged to hide their lack of faith from their neighbors.

•Some 7000 miles away in Indonesia, the U.S.-backed government of President Suharto currently regards the opposition Moslem party as a greater threat than the communists, who came close to seizing power in the mid-1960s.

•In Pakistan, Gen. Zia ul-Haq is in the process of replacing the country's British-style laws with new regulations based on the Koran, and in Malaysia, students are the spearhead of a campaign to align civil law more closely with Islamic religious law.

•In Egypt, the greatest threat to President Sadat's peace efforts with Israel is not communism or Nasserism, but Moslem fundamentalists demanding the abolition of all foreign influences, whether they derive from the capitalist West or the Marxist countries.

It is quite a change from the days when Islam was considered a relic of the feudal past, and newly-independent nations stretching from Indonesia to Morocco were supposed to face an either/or choice between communism and the American Way of Life.

Today Islam is winning many more converts in Africa and Asia than either Marxism or Christianity. Far from being a superstition from the past, it increasingly resembles a wave of the future.

Why such appeal?

Why should Islam—which Moslems consider the final perfect expression of God's word as previously sent down in the imperfect forms of Judaism and Christianity, and Muhammad, the last in a series of God's prophets from Abraham to Jesus—have such a powerful appeal in so many Third World countries?

Why should the five essential aspects (or pillars) of Islam—belief in the unity of God; prayer five times a day; fasting during the holy month of Ramadan; the giving of alms; and the haj or pilgrimage to Mecca—prove more attractive to millions of western-educated Third World youths than the tenets of either Moscow or Washington?

Unlike both Christianity and Marxism, Islam is more than a creed or an ideology.

It is a total way of life, uniting political and economic life, as well as the life of the spirit, into a single community bound by one law, the Shari'a, derived ultimately from the Koran.

Unlike Communism, Islam does not divorce religious fulfillment from revolutionary activism, and unlike Christianity, Islam erects no barriers between spiritual belief and political action here on earth.

So while Islam provides a means for reaffirming traditional values and expressing disillusionment with the moral tone

of the secular West, it also provides a means for political activism—even revolutionary change—in Third World countries whose communism so far has promised much more than it has delivered.

The result is that, more than any other doctrine, Islam today offers millions of people in Third World countries the means not only to reject the moral decadence of the West—but also a way to bring about fundamental change in their own societies.

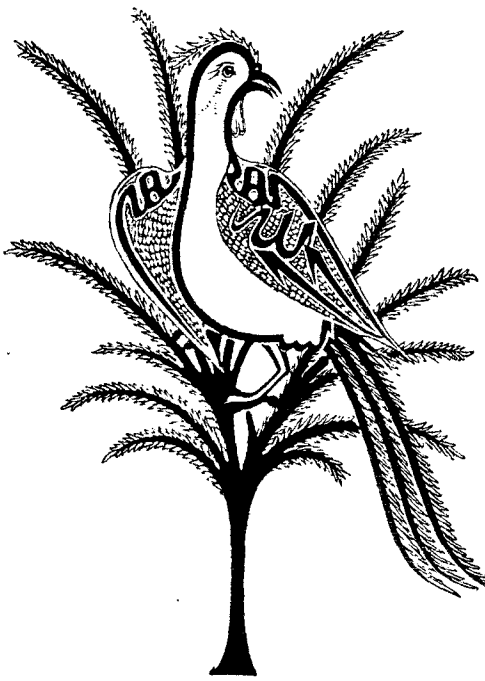
Politics first in Iran.

The political component in the current Islamic revival has manifested itself most dramatically in Iran. But the Shah was not the first—nor is he likely to be the last—leader to find imported weapons, a secret police and secular development (on either the American or Communist model) no match for the strength of a revived Islamic faith among his own people.

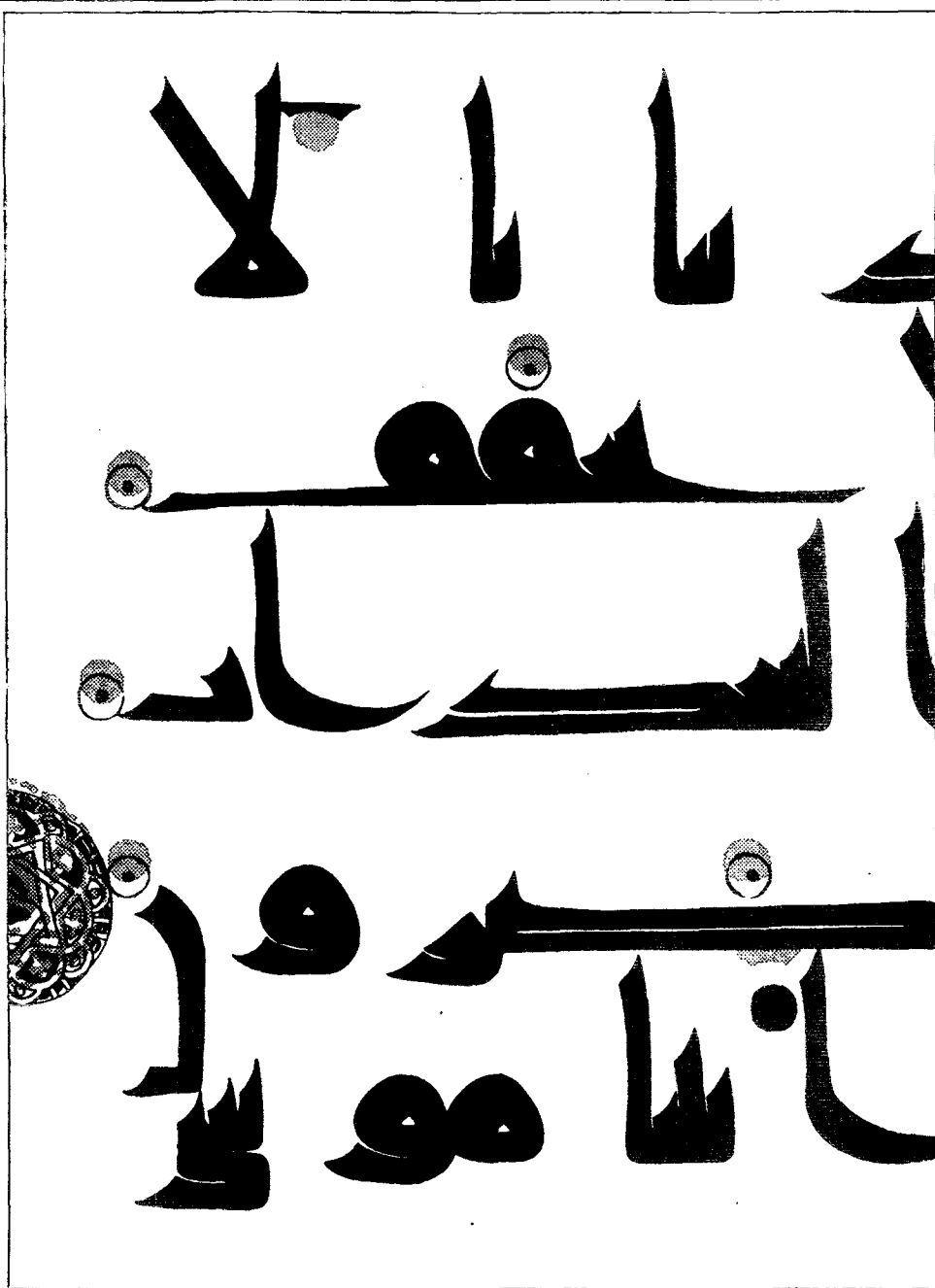
Eighteen months ago, a similar movement overthrew the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in Pakistan, and enabled the army to seize power. Today, Gen. Zia ul-Haq is still in control, having taken steps to establish his goal of an Islamic society. Most notably, these consist of a more extensive application of the religious laws, including Islamic punishments such as public floggings and the prohibition of alcohol.

The most significant of the Islamic fundamentalist groups opposing Sadat's style of Arabic secularism is the Ikhwan or Moslem Brethren, an organization founded in 1927 as a religious teaching and reform movement. By World War II it had developed into a political movement and for several years in Egypt it carried out a campaign of violence.

Despite having been frequently banned,



The revival of the Moslem faith offers many an alternative system to capitalism and communism, both of which are seen as Western.



Detail of Kufic-Arabic leaf from the Koran, Mesopotamia, 7th Century.

the Brethren have successfully withstood such repression and remain a potential alternative to several Arab regimes.

Neither is there an automatic sympathy between Islam and socialist governments. The Ayatollah Khomeini has frequently declared his dislike of communism and of Iran's communist party, Tudeh. Nominally socialist governments in Moslem countries like Libya, Iraq, Algeria, and Syria are careful to not challenge Islamic social customs.

Meanwhile, in the largest Moslem country of all, Indonesia, where Moslem religious groups play a significant part in the nationalist movements against the Dutch there have been signs of revived Moslem political activism as well.

The recent elections in Indonesia gave the Moslem party 30 percent of the votes, and tension between Moslem organizations and the government has increased following official recognition of Keppercayaan, an old tribalistic Javanese sect that Islam replaced in the 16th century.

The issue is particularly controversial because when the non-Moslem Jajapahit kingdom was crushed by the Moslems in 1620, it was prophesied that it would rise again after five centuries and destroy the Moslems themselves. According to the Keppercayaan moon calendar, 500 years will be up in 1979-80.

50 million Moslems in USSR.

The most important country affected by Islam's powerful mixture of faith and politics, however, is without doubt the Soviet Union—where secularism's inability to provide a satisfying alternative to faith is increasingly conspicuous.

Nearly 50 million Moslems live in the Soviet Union, the fifth largest Moslem country in the world—mostly in the southern provinces in central Asia and the Caucasus bordering Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. Despite the efforts made by the Soviet government over the past 60 years to suppress religious belief, adherence to Islam remains strong.

The Russians are apprehensive about the effects that an Islamic revival might have on their own Moslem population. When the Soviet Union recently asked for an additional consulate in Libya, the Moslem Libyan leader, Muammar Qad-

afi consented if, in return, a Libyan consulate might be opened in Tashkent, the largest city in Soviet Central Asia, and in the heart of a strongly Moslem area. The Russians promptly dropped the request.

Official anti-Islamic activity within the Soviet Union has recently been relaxed, partly to improve Russian standing in the Middle East but partly to come to terms with Moslem awareness inside the country.

More money and effort is now being spent on preserving and restoring the faded architectural splendors of Bukhara and Samarkand, and if this is mainly for the tourists, it is nevertheless a remarkable reversal of former official neglect.

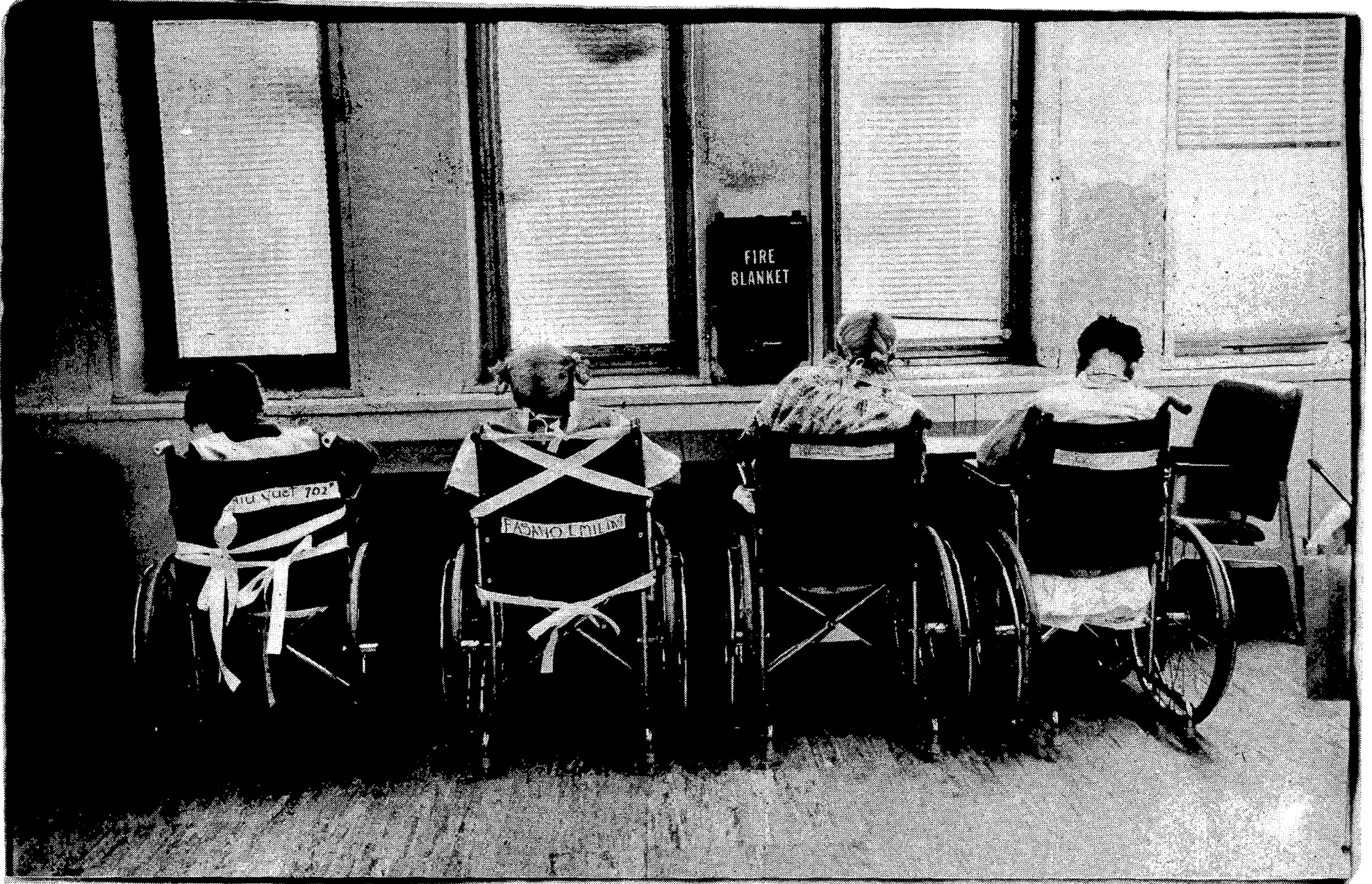
Significantly, Islamic fundamentalism has enjoyed its greatest political success recently in two countries that are not typical of the Moslem world. Neither Pakistan nor Iran are Arab countries. And in both states, Islam plays a role rather different than in most other Moslem countries. The Iranians follow the more politically active historically non-conformist branch of Islam, the Shi'ite sect. And while the Pakistanis belong to the larger, less politically active Sunni sect, Islam has been the dominant factor in the Pakistani national identity since the days of partition from Hindu-majority India.

The challenge all Moslems—not just the Ayatollah in Iran and Gen. Zia in Pakistan—now face is to convert the tremendous power of Islamic faith from a vague concept capable of differing interpretations into a series of social, political and human solutions for their peoples that imported beliefs so far have failed to provide.

What is happening in many parts of the Moslem world today indicates above all, that Islam is very much a living religion capable of responding to new developments and pressures. It would be well not to dismiss the Islamic Revival as mere religious reaction, but to recognize it as an effort by a crucial sector of humanity to deal with the world on its own terms—not those the West has tried to impose since the days of colonialism.

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David Knights monitors Mideast affairs for the London-based Gemini News Service.



NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC HOSPITALS

The Sickest Patient.

If the fiscal surgery is successful, the patient will die.

By Patrick Lacefield

THE POLICE OF THE CITY SAY THEY NEED BULLET-proof vests. Well, as doctors, our bullet-proof vests are the nurses, diagnostic equipment, support staff and everything else that goes into making a hospital.

If Mayor Koch takes away those vests and the bullet goes through, it won't be the doctors that die but rather our patients." ¶For Dr. Jonathan House, resident in internal medicine at Harlem Hospital and strike committee leader for the Committee for Interns and Residents, Jan. 17 had already been a long day, though it was as yet only late morning. ¶His

voice rasping from morning hours spent soapboxing at half a dozen hospitals in the Bronx and Manhattan in freezing weather, his message to 100 shivering doctors and other health workers outside Metropolitan Hospital was simple.

"What we want," said Howe, "is one standard of care—the best—and an end to irrational health care cutbacks and corrupt giveaways by the Koch administration aimed at New York's public hospitals."

The one-day strike by 2200 interns and residents at the 17 municipal facilities operated by the city of New York put rumored health care cutbacks and hospital closings on page one. In doing so, the strike sharpened the lines of conflict between the Koch administration and defenders of the much-maligned municipal hospital system. The existence of this system, the largest in the nation, has come to be viewed over the years as a reflection of the compassion and the commitment of the city to decent health care for all New Yorkers. The future of that commitment now is very much in doubt.

The municipal hospitals, according to New York Health Department figures, provided more than three million inpatient, four million clinic, and a million and a half emergency room visits in 1977. Though accounting for only 22 percent of the 35,000-plus hospital beds in the city, the municipals provide 90 percent of the city's emergency services and fully

half of all outpatient services. More importantly, the municipal hospitals, unlike the private voluntary hospitals, serve all New Yorkers regardless of ability to pay.

"It's not like the voluntaries let poor people die rather than treat them," one public health activist confided to *IN THESE TIMES*. "They'll treat emergencies because it's bad publicity not to do so, but poor people are shunted as quickly as possible to the municipals."

Axel Schupf is an unlikely advocate of the municipal system. The Belgian-born millionaire investment counselor was appointed last March by Mayor Ed Koch as chairman of the board of the Health and Hospitals Corporation, the supposedly semi-autonomous agency set up in 1970 to operate the municipal hospitals "free of political influence." According to one observer of the city health scene, Schupf was appointed "to do a hatchet job on the public system, to hand it over to the private voluntaries," which compete with the municipals for patients and, thus, for federal, state and city reimbursement funds. Schupf, however, became something of a convert to the public hospitals' cause and subsequently was ousted by Koch last September in a dispute over health policies.

Schupf, now ensconced at the prestigious Harvard Club in mid-town Manhattan, talks freely about the Koch administration's health policies. "Without

the municipal hospitals, who would pick up the slack in providing acute psychiatry, chronic care, geriatric services, drug and alcohol detox and emergency services?" asks Schupf. "We have approximately a million and a half working poor and 700,000 aliens in this city without Medicaid or other third-party insurance. The voluntaries won't touch them, simply because there's no money in it for them."

Who Benefits?

Money: it's both the incentive the voluntaries require and the rationale of the Koch administration for budget cuts in the public hospital system. During the city fiscal crisis that began in 1975, Koch's predecessor, Abraham Beame, closed four city hospitals. Those closings, combined with cutting beds and closing whole wards in other facilities, reduced by 3800 the number of Health and Hospitals Corporation (HHC) beds. Thirty other public health facilities—including child health stations, tuberculosis centers, and other community-based primary care facilities—were closed and much-needed new clinics have not been opened.

Facing a 1982 budget crunch of millions of dollars and looking for areas to cut expenditures, Mayor Koch decided that the city can no longer be the "provider of national health insurance to the working poor." Consequently, the Mayor and his health "czar," Dr. Martin Cherkasky, have vowed to reduce city tax levies to the "monstrous and unmanageable" HHC.

Critics accuse the mayor of giving the public the false impression that the city supplies the bulk of HHC's \$1.1 billion budget. Only \$300 million in tax levy funds is supplied by the city to the HHC, hardly excessive, say administration critics, for operating 17 institutions. In fact, the corporation collected over \$723 million in payments for services rendered, less than a quarter of the total being the city's share of Medicaid reimbursement. These payments would be paid, and at a higher rate, to voluntaries should the municipals be closed; thus a transfer could cost the city more, not less, in health dollars.

Indeed, many municipal hospital advocates believe, as does Dr. House, that the cutbacks and proposed closings are "not a rational attempt to save money but rather an effort to benefit the voluntaries," 80 percent of which are estimated to be operating in the red and whose boards of directors include many large contributors to Koch's successful 1977 mayoral campaign. Dr. Bruce Schwartz, a chief resident in psychiatry at Jacobi, part of Bronx Municipal Hospital, believes this.

"Not only does our psychiatry service operate at 120 percent of capacity," he told *IN THESE TIMES* on the picket line in front of Bronx Municipal on Jan. 17, "but we actually turn a profit of \$6 million annually and yet we're being cut by 10 percent in budget terms. Our patients know they can go nowhere else. It's either us or no one and Koch is proposing to make it no one."

Kill and Capture

Cutbacks like those at Jacobi and Harlem Hospital, where half the surgical residents will be dropped, are only the beginning. The Koch administration's strategy, as leaked to the press by "unidentified health officials," is one of "kill and capture." Hospitals closed under the plan would include Sydenham in Harlem, Gouverneur on the Lower East Side, Cumberland, Greenpoint, and a good bit of Kings County in Brooklyn and Queens Hospital Center. Newer HHC facilities ripe for capture by the private voluntaries—in one form or another—and built with public tax dollars would be North Central Bronx, Metropolitan and Bellevue in Manhattan and Woodhull in northern Brooklyn.

Woodhull Hospital has been the focus of much of the controversy. Construction began on Woodhull in 1967. The 640-bed facility was envisioned as a replacement—albeit a very costly one—for the under-sized and obsolete Greenpoint and Cumberland hospitals. "Woodhull," says Axel Schupf, "represents an apotheosis of the '60s—expensive to build, expen-

sive to staff, expensive to secure. Nobody today would design a hospital in such a way, but that was before inflationary health costs."

Schupf recalls that Koch gave him the go-ahead on opening Woodhull in March—the only other option, delay, being nearly as costly. Then Koch performed an about-face in July and appointed a special committee to make recommendations on the effect of Woodhull's opening on other health resources in Brooklyn. According to Schupf, Koch feared that the opening of such an expensive facility would tarnish the mayor's carefully cultivated image as a champion of fiscal austerity. To head the committee, Koch tabbed Dr. Martin Cherkasky, president of the private Montefiore Hospital and Medical Center empire in the Bronx.

"Naming Cherkasky to head a committee already stacked with private hospital reps," said Schupf, "assured that movement toward the opening of Woodhull would be slowed. The committee provided Cherkasky with the political umbrella he needed to pursue his goal of eliminating the municipal hospital system."

Cherkasky epitomizes the corporate liberalism that seized upon the health grantsmanship of the '60s to feather its own vested nest. He is admired in many circles as an innovative administrator and a staunch advocate of national health insurance. His detractors, however, point to an article he wrote in the *New York Times Magazine* of Oct. 8, 1967, in which he denounced public hospitals as "a sentimental attachment to an outmoded system of hospital operation in the name of a charitable commitment." He is, says Schupf, "the greatest health care imperialist there is."

In the late '60s, Cherkasky used his influence to have North Central Bronx municipal hospital built directly beside Montefiore rather than in the central Bronx where the facilities it was replacing had been located. When North Central Bronx opened in 1975, Cherkasky, with the cooperation of the Emergency Financial Control Board and the city, sought to have the hospital leased to Montefiore for \$1 a year, handing over a facility built with \$100 million in tax levies. Only worker and community opposition stymied his bid and forced the opening of North Central Bronx as a municipal facility.

The Woodhull Committee was Cherkasky's latest gambit. Its report recommended that Woodhull's opening be delayed until 1983, then operate within a consortium involving Brooklyn volunteers. Some public health activists suggest that such a plan could establish a precedent for a similar takeover of North Central Bronx, allowing public tax monies to shore up financially-troubled volunteers while giving only the most ill-defined assurances of access to poor New Yorkers.

Mayor Koch has yet to comment seriously on the report, pro or con, but defenders of the public system harbor no illusions about the mayor's commitment to the municipal system.

"It's a power struggle for the health care dollar, and it seems the mayor has sided with the private sector," remarked Donald Rubin, head of the Consumer Commission on the Accreditation of Health Services. Others believe it is a matter of political muscle—that fire, police and sanitation services embody powerful constituencies and interests capable of hurting Koch politically. Health care, along with higher education, lacks such power, so the reasoning goes, and thus is vulnerable.

Self-Righteous Outrage

One indicator of the administration's commitment was the reaction to the one-day strike on Jan. 17 by the Committee of Residents and Interns, the first significant public action against the Koch/Cherkasky strategy to date. Though the doctors had arranged to provide emergency services and cover the wards during the day, assuring that no patient would suffer as a result of the stoppage, Koch angrily lashed out at the doctors, calling the strike "absolutely outrageous" and belittling their advocacy of patient care issues. Noting that he planned to be around for 11 more years, Koch said, "Are they

committed to serving in the ghettos of this city? Or are they going to flee to Connecticut?"

HHC president Joseph Hoffman, a deputy police commissioner recently appointed by Koch to head the hospitals agency, took the CIR to court, winning a temporary restraining order against the walkout on Jan. 16, which the CIR promptly disobeyed. Koch and Hoffman responded with threats—including loss of pay under the state's Taylor Law (which forbids strikes by public employees), cancellation of medical malpractice insurance and possible dismissal on charges of "patient abandonment." Hoffman charged the CIR with using the patients as leverage in a fight for more money for themselves in contract talks with the city. Actually the lion's share of CIR contract demands concern patient care, which Hoffman and Koch consider non-negotiable and an infringement on management prerogatives.

Though rallies and picket-lines sprang up at eight city hospitals (and in support at several private facilities including Cherkasky's own Montefiore), the largest rally of the day was at Harlem Hospital, a fitting location considering that the cutbacks and closings threaten not only a largely minority patient population but also the jobs of mostly black and Hispanic hospital workers. Koch's already strained relations with the city's black community have snapped with rumors of the closings. While most white city reform forces are hesitating to stand against Koch on the cutbacks, the NAACP has warned of "possible racial confrontation and disorder" and kicked off a drive (of questionable legality) to recall the mayor.

"We're outraged that more and more the right to health care, which is the right to life, is not a priority in this city," Lillian Roberts, associate director of District 37, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, told several hundred at the Harlem rally. "When the city proposes to cut from health care, it is a disgusting and sad situation, a class and race situation."

The most important effect of the one-day CIR action was to unite the CIR with Roberts' AFSCME, which represents 25,000 public hospital workers, and the NAACP in presenting a solid front against the cutbacks. Already the efforts are bearing fruit.

Mayor Koch, expected to announce massive cuts and closings of city hospitals in his budget message of Jan. 15, passed over the subject. Dr. Cherkasky has speculated far less on the giveaway of public hospitals to the volunteers since the 17th, though the city is rumored to have offered to hand over Woodhull Hospital to the U.S. Justice Department for use as a detention center for illegal aliens, and now no further news is expected until the unveiling of a plan by the Koch administration on Feb. 20.

Meanwhile, the CIR is hitting the HHC where it hurts—in the pocketbook—by refusing to sign Medicaid and Medicare reimbursement forms until the city agrees to patient care demands and a rational, democratically determined health care policy for the city. This costs the city millions of dollars a day in federal and state reimbursement and city officials are beginning to feel the squeeze. The CIR has also offered to set aside one-quarter of their annual pay raises to a fund controlled by the CIR to purchase much-needed medical equipment for the public hospitals, similar to housestaff funds at Boston City and Los Angeles County hospitals. Mayor Koch has yet to respond to this offer.

"Let's face it," says Dr. Harold Clark of Bronx Municipal Hospital as he stepped off the picketline for some coffee to steel himself against the cold and snow, "There comes a time when this thin line of ours reaches the brink of collapse. The city is putting rusty scalpels in our hands and we're tired of perpetuating the fraud that we can deliver good health care amid these cutbacks. The time has come to say no."

Whether Mayor Koch, Dr. Cherkasky and the private hospital interests will take "no" for an answer, however, remains to be seen.

Patrick Laceyfield is on the staff of WIN Magazine in New York City and active in the Public Hospitals Action Committee.



Photos by Karen Mantio

EDITORIAL

Chinese thunder shakes the world

The Chinese invasion of Vietnam, like the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, is one more episode in the rise of national antagonisms dividing communist states. But it is not a minor episode: it underscores the grave danger such conflict poses to world peace. It also brings into sharper focus the serious harm brought by conflicts among communist states to the cause of socialism throughout the world. It has deepened the worldwide confusion, discord, and demoralization in the ranks of socialists who have always argued that socialism would put an end to wars of aggression.

The Chinese claim to be "punishing" Vietnam for its invasion of Cambodia. But two wrongs do not make a right. And for a socialist country to strike such a classic imperial posture is inexcusable. It is especially inexcusable when directed by a great nation against a smaller one, and by a great nation with a long history of imperial aggressions against the smaller one.

It is particularly reprehensible that a great socialist nation like China, with not even the pretense of aiding a revolutionary cause, should make war upon another socialist nation, and one that it so recently aided in resisting and defeating the ferocious imperialist assault of the U.S. As communists, the Chinese leaders are presumably sensitive to their obligation to overcome, not fan, the flames of national chauvinism, in the interest of international working people's solidarity.

The Chinese invasion makes a mockery of the Bandung principles that the Chinese Communists played so vital and honorable a role in promulgating almost



25 years ago, and that won the admiration of the world—principles of friendship, respect for sovereignty, non-intervention, and cooperative and peaceful relations among nations.

The Bandung principles were an embodiment of the best in the tradition of socialist internationalism, and they gave the world a compelling example of the differences between socialist nations' leadership as against that of capitalist nations in international affairs.

Though the inconceivable seems to have become a daily occurrence, it is inconceivable that either Mao Tse-tung or Chou En-lai, were they alive, would have permitted the Chinese invasion of Vietnam. If they felt aggrieved by actions of Vietnam, they would have patiently appealed to the Vietnamese themselves to settle the differences peacefully; they would have appealed to world socialist opinion, and if necessary to broader world opinion.

War would have been their very last resort. With the Deng government, war is the first resort.

The Chinese say they fear Soviet encirclement—by the Soviets themselves to the north, and a Soviet-allied Indochina dominated by Vietnam to the south. But how will their invasion abate that fear? It can only lead to greater enmities, stronger Vietnam-Soviet ties, and sharper polarization between China and the Soviets. It could also lead to a major war, if not a world war, engulfing all of Asia that can only inflict bitter suffering and deep economic and social setbacks on the Asian working people.

Not least important, the hostilities could open the way to a renewed military involvement and enlarged political intervention by the U.S. in Asia (so far, to his credit, President Carter has assumed a restrained position), after so much blood has been spilt in defeating U.S. im-

perial designs there.

The Sino-Soviet conflict lies at the heart of the impending disaster in Asia. The ending of that conflict is the order of the day. It is not in the interests of the people in the Communist world, the non-aligned world, or the industrial capitalist world, that the conflict continues.

If the Soviets and Chinese have become "dizzy" with statism, losing their socialist perspective in a morass of national chauvinisms and great power politics, and if that dizziness is spreading like a virus to other socialist states, then it is the responsibility of the socialist movements and parties throughout the world, by popular and extra-governmental action, as well as in the councils of the UN and other diplomatic channels, to bring those states back to their socialist senses, to their responsibility as socialist states to the working people—and to the peace—of the world.

Socialist world opinion should bend every effort at achieving reconciliation and restoring friendly relations between China and the Soviet Union, and among the other communist states. Let socialists say to the communist states: In the name of socialism, in the name of humanity, you have no right to act without reference to world socialist opinion, without a decent respect for the opinions of humankind.

If China has shaken the world again, let it also have shaken the world socialist conscience into a renewed vitality.

The progress and well-being of the communist states' own people require it. The peace of the world urgently needs it. The cause of world socialism demands it. ■

For Carter there's a Meany on the left

The precise provisions of President Carter's wage insurance plan remain obscure. In what form Congress may pass it, if at all, remains unknown. (See story, p. 8.) But some things about it are becoming clear.

- The administration prefers to restrict wage insurance to the smallest possible number of workers—those covered by the larger collective bargaining agreements. Many members of Congress will work to tighten the restriction still more, either through a narrowly defined eligibility, or through counting benefits in with wages in calculating the 7 percent wage standard. As presently conceived, wage insurance will operate selectively and offer little or no benefits to lower-paid workers.

- The administration sees the insurance scheme as essential to saving "voluntary" wage-price guidelines and avoiding mandatory controls. Without it, trend-setting unions like the UAW and Teamsters cannot be expected to settle for 7 percent wage increases or less in upcoming bargaining, and, either the wage-price program will collapse and inflation soar, or mandatory controls must follow.

- Wage insurance coupled with the existing "voluntary" wage-price program will reinforce wage control without controlling prices, profits, interest or other property income. It will further institutionalize, not end, an inflation that places the main burden on labor's income.

- To make good his commitment to reduce the federal deficit, Carter cannot permit wage insurance to become a large item of government expenditure. It would become so if the rate of inflation substantially exceeds 7 percent. It will therefore operate as one more incentive for a fiscal conservative like Carter to acquiesce

in, if not deliberately precipitate, a recession as a means of restraining price increases.

The wage insurance proposal "insures" real wages less than it does the real erosion of labor's income and sustained high levels of unemployment. In short, it is yet another assault by the Democratic president on labor's interest in protecting wages and jobs.

The AFL-CIO's Executive Council and its president, George Meany, have so far refused to budge from the demand for mandatory controls on all forms of income including prices, profits, and interest rates as the only effective way of controlling inflation without recession. Such controls would make wage insurance unnecessary. But they have also taken the position that if there is to be wage insurance, it should cover every worker receiving a 7 percent or less wage increase.

In taking this stand the AFL-CIO is acting in the best interests of all American workers. On this issue, it has eschewed a narrow interest-group approach. It has, in effect, positioned itself well to the left of the President and the bulk of the Democratic party leadership, not to mention the UAW.

Potentially at least, the fight by labor for comprehensive mandatory controls would mean a fight against capital for control over the investment-price system, a fight which, once begun, the labor movement could not quit without irreparable losses. A labor-backed program of mandatory controls that sought to maintain workers' income and avoid recession would have to go hand in hand with a public investment program to take up the slack left by a capitalists' investment "strike."

Such a fight would therefore mean

opening the way to making the question of a socially planned and publicly controlled economy the central issue of American politics. It would begin the desanctification of the myth that the investment and price-setting function is the "natural right" of private profit-seekers, by making it the people's business. It would intensify the need of labor and its allies to see that electoral politics worked to their interests. It would accelerate the process, already under way, of party realignment.

As and when mandatory controls become unavoidable, Carter and the other guardians of Corporate Power want to install them with the least possible labor input and the least possible public discussion. They want the issue kept out of politics.

No wonder, then, that the Carter administration is seeking to defer mandatory controls as long as possible, but is even more frantically seeking to prevent public discussion of it. And no wonder that all the partisans of the Corporate Way lose their customary composure and powers of reason in attacking and ridiculing Meany every time he repeats the demand for mandatory controls.

Nevertheless, according to the latest ABC News-Harris Survey on the issue (reported Feb. 19 in the *Chicago Tribune*), a 54-to-37 percent majority of the American people agree with Meany on the preferability of mandatory controls over Carter's current "voluntary" program. The division of opinion falls rather clearly along class lines. Working class people have less to lose (and more to gain) from rational thinking about the economy than the wealthy and their experts. Union members favor mandatory controls by 57 to 34 percent, blacks by 58 to 28 percent,

persons with incomes of \$7,000 or less by 56 to 29 percent. People with incomes of \$25,000 or more, on the other hand, oppose mandatory controls by 51 to 44 percent, and business executives by 54 to 42 percent.

The wealthy oppose mandatory controls because they will work, not because they won't, and they're worried that in a democracy such controls could not long operate to enforce privilege and gross inequality. If we listen carefully to their argument against controls, we find them saying there will be an inflationary explosion after controls are lifted. That's the point: why lift them?

If Meany and the AFL-CIO are well to the left on this issue, so are the majority of Americans, especially working-class Americans. That's what scares the Lords Corporate.

But labor and the left cannot simply call for mandatory controls without formulating their design in detail and combining them with a concrete program for a public investment system to supplement and ultimately replace the existing corporate system. Anything less than that will result in controls designed by big business to the severe injury of labor's economic interests and human rights.

The inescapable implication of mandatory controls for labor and its allies is a positive commitment to moving toward democratic socialism and candidly and boldly making it an explicit issue in mainstream American politics.

Meany and many of his AFL-CIO colleagues may not be ready to carry the ball that far left, but they have—if in spite of themselves—put the ball in play. It is for the democratic and socialist left to pick it up and run with it. Millions of Americans seem anxious for the game to begin. ■

LETTERS

AMEN

A READER'S COMPLAINT (ITT, JAN. 24) that "what started out as a fairly straight-forward journal of socialist news and commentary has turned into a blind and trendy exercise in faddism," raises the possibility of a dialogue long overdue between the staff and the readers. The paper has changed. The sharply improved quality of the prose, the discovery of the "hot" story, and for me most especially the revamping of the entire culture section under Pat Aufderheide's leadership, demonstrate more newspaper sense than the American left has possessed since the best days of the old *National Guardian*. That ITT has accomplished the task of popularization and potential outreach without the presence of a vibrant political movement is a tribute to the whole team.

This is a new road away from the comforting in-groupishness of the other left papers, and mistakes are inevitable along the path. As Oscar Ameringer used to say, there are more kinds of socialists than Protestant sects in an Indiana county seat—and we'll all have our gripes. Mine are: the humorlessness of the paper, including a lack of that all-time American favorite, the comic strip, just when there are so many feminist and radical comic artists around (Trina Robbins, Lee Mairs, Justin Green, Art Spiegelman and Jay Kinney, to name only a few); the paucity of discussion about blue-collar culture, from Q&W records to clothes fashions and subtle shifts in language; and a certain lack of political imagination that—truthfully—we all share today, the failure thus far to re-create a socialist strategy rather a re-hash of the old self-satisfying slogans nor a capitulation to "politics" as defined by the politicians. But whatever the paper's weaknesses, its presence helps us move toward our common goals. ITT has proved its right to live, and our obligation to help it grow.

I think we readers could help more, feel more a part of the operation and, perhaps, even be moved to form those long-overdue ITT local clubs if we could be drawn further into a regular discussion about format and circulation. I'll bet there are readers brimming with ideas to popularize ITT, and make it accessible to their non-socialist friends. Why not give our suggestions a space every week, and tell us what you think you're doing.

—Paul Buhle
Cultural Correspondence
Providence, R.I.

ON THE ROAD TO...?

YOUR EDITORIAL ADMONISHING US American socialists not to carelessly call China's new leadership "counter-revolutionary" ignores what even the bourgeois press is openly admitting. China is embarked on plans which will create a technocratic elite that will be light years removed from those they rule.

Yes. Between equalitarianism and development are contradictions about which socialists can disagree. Resolutions of these contradictions do not come easily. Too, many of the promoters of the Cultural Revolution were ferociously dogmatic and did more harm than good for the cause of equalitarianism upon which their activities were supposedly based. But one need not be a member of the RCP to be deeply disturbed by what appears to be happening in China. Can you honestly write that the new policies are merely the ascendancy of one socialist group over another?

It would be easy to recite a volume-long list of bad news from China during the past two years, from the renewed objectification of women to the emphasis on individual factory managers and downgrading of factory/worker councils. But one recent item is the most revealing.

While Deng Xiaoping was hobnobbing with Georgia capitalists, Central Television in Peking was whetting the appetite of urban Chinese in an interview with a "typical" American "worker." He turned out to be a \$34,000-a-year executive.

It is not, as you put it, the "existence of persistence of inequalities in income or status associated with industrialization" that is at issue, but rather the enhancement of these inequalities by the new leadership at the expense of the Chinese majority. Or, as Mao himself said it in discussing Deng and others in 1974: "The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road."

—Christopher Preston
Denver, Colo.

THE PRIMROSE PATH

I WAS VERY PLEASED TO SEE YOUR EDITORIAL, "Of Blizzards, Workers and Shirkers" (ITT, Jan. 31). It touched on the problem of what you call the "work ethic" vs. the "shirk ethic" most sensitively. In doing so, however, it revealed a traditional problem in defining political issues—where one group does so for the other.

Here's another way to look at the situation. The larger problem at your office is simply one of worker self-management, a topic that appears on your pages periodically. It is obvious that snowstorm decisions are just one example of the need for a non-alienating process. You did achieve something almost unheard of at most workplaces: some workers said "no" and made it stick. That's usually acceptable only when the one who says "no" is higher up than the others.

More to the point, the tension involved in your recent hassle may be regarded differently from the way "Old Socialists" framed it. What they called the "work ethic" is simply a manifestation of the value that production is the primary goal of work. The "shirk ethic," on the other hand, is a manifestation of workers pursuing a goal of humanism at the workplace, a goal that remains to be explored. In common parlance, however, there's much misleading connotation surrounding the words you chose to describe the snowbound situation. A predictable knee-jerk response (even likely among younger socialists) is that "work" is better than "shirk." Perhaps unintentionally, your description of the problem tends to lead us down the proverbial primrose path.

—Ken Barnes
Pittsburgh, Pa.

IS MORE BETTER?

YOUR EDITORIAL, "BROWNIAN MOTION: redlining public needs" (ITT, Jan. 24) presented a clear idea of your underlying political philosophy and differences between your view and mine.

In your analysis of Brown's "simple" assertion that if government spending is inflationary, then it should be cut, you defend "real growth of public services and public employment" as being "natural and necessary to the progress and welfare of a mature industrial society." What a weird position, defending the progress of industrial society! You might as well defend war and racism as "natural and necessary" to the progress of that same society.

Later on you equate people's "desire" for "better" services with "expanded" services. One doesn't necessarily have to see small as beautiful to realize that more is not the same as better. The fundamental revolt of the 1960s was against this false quality-quantity equation and is the basic premise of the social revolution that decade spawned.

The real contradiction in our society today is between those who unquestioningly accept the "progress" of industrial

civilization with the "finality of organic law," and those who accept it only as a "passing policy." You criticize just such intellectual rigidity in Brown's push for a legal prohibition of deficit spending. I, for one, understand that the yin-yang-reaping-what-you-sow balance is a more universal truth than our materialist way of modern living.

To advocate psychological and material dependence on government for meeting more and more needs (like guaranteed education through college, full employment and a system of alaphathic medicine) is irresponsible at best. What about protection from excessive schooling? What about guaranteed leisure time?

We must be free to define and meet our own needs in our own communities, be responsible for our own lives, even if that leads to dismantling the industrial civilization from the bottom up. Don't take over the government, take over the government's functions!

In spite of these differences, your weekly timeliness and non-sectarian approach is refreshing.

—Paul Landskroener
Valparaiso, Ind.

Editor's Note: Some of our differences may be more semantic than real. If Gov. Brown favored de-industrialization and proposed real alternatives to public services and employment, you might have a point. Some "natural and necessary" aspects of capitalism, like the growth of the working class, trade unions, and rising productivity, socialists can affirm as pointing beyond capitalist social relations; others, such as depressions and unemployment, socialists take as good reason for opposing capitalism.

True, more is not the same as better, but we do need more (as well as better) public goods and services in such areas as medicine and health, mass transit, day-care, recreation, education, banking, and energy.

Public enterprises may be arranged by governments, but also by cooperatives, worker associations, neighborhood groups, etc. "Public" is not equivalent to government, and government is not equivalent to Washington: it includes nation-wide, state-wide, regional, local, and neighborhood bodies that are elected or responsible to electoral processes. This is consistent with being "free to define and meet our own needs in our own communities." There's nothing wrong with "dependence" on government, if it is self-government.

ARROGANCE

I AM AMAZED AT THE ARROGANCE OF a "socialist" paper's providing a full-page forum of outside, blown-up type (ITT, Feb. 7) from which its male rock critic can swat down those pesky feminists (whose arguments have already been neatly cut down to size by the letters page editor!). ITT's apparent stance of "O.K., girls, we'll give you a couple more pages for your ERA and abortion stuff, just remember who's boss" is all hanging out here. "Dear Critics" beautifully illustrates an observation made by Karia Jay in her article "Pot, Porn, and

the Politics of Pleasure": men will give up grapes and lettuce and orange juice and tuna fish, but they will not give up pornography. Nor will they give up rock-'n'-roll when it comes packaged in images of violence against women, who of course "love" to get raped, blackened and blued by the Rolling Stones *et al.*

Look, I happen to love rock-'n'-roll myself, but not indiscriminately. Mr. Critic, don't you dare tell me to close my eyes and ears to those woman-hating lyrics, record covers, ads, stage postures, etc. If Springsteen can manage to do great rock-'n'-roll without slashing up any women, so can the other boys—but we must demand it.

—Janet Prلمان
Durham, N.C.

SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM

SOME PEOPLE WILL NEVER ADMIT when they are wrong. Despite Ken Lawrence's disclaimer (ITT, Feb. 7), books, articles and pamphlets that jumble together crude anti-Semitism with a veneer of crude anti-Zionism are continually printed in the USSR.

Most recently, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency office (JTA News) in Paris, Simon Wiesenthal's Documentation Center in Vienna and the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovot were attacked as "Zionist centers" in a new anti-Semitic book published in Moscow by the Political Publishing House under the auspices of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

The 270-page diatribe, "International Zionism's Ideology and Practices," was under the editorship of academician Mark Mitin, who was notorious for supporting Stalin's drive against the "Doctors' Plot" in 1953, which alleged that Jewish physicians planned to murder Kremlin officials.

The book attacks Judaism and Zionism as one: "Where the rabbis and Zionists rule, everything is subservient to one aim—serving the interests of capital." "Zionist centers" are seen as exercising control over the Western media and press. According to the book, "80 percent of American and international information agencies are under the influence of the international Zionist centers," and "Zionists" control half of the magazines and radio stations in the U.S. and 75 percent of the foreign bureaus of American news organizations. In addition, the book asserts, Jewish organizations seek to subvert the USSR.

This was brought to light by the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry (SSSJ). This 14-year-old human rights group, along with the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, regularly sends out reports on human rights violations specifically dealing with Soviet Jewry. To find out what's really going on in the USSR, I would strongly urge your readers to contact them at: Students Struggle for Soviet Jewry, 200 W. 72nd Street, New York, NY 10023.

—A.L. Katmon
New York City

Editor's Note: Please keep letters under 250 words. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, please type and double space letters, or at least write clearly and leave wide margins.

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PETER A. ISEMAN

Will oil millions make Saudi Arabia the next petro-domino to fall?

THE POLITICAL DEMISE OF the Shah and the disruption of Iranian oil supplies have triggered fears that similar troubles are brewing across the Gulf in Saudi Arabia.

Will Saudi Arabia be the next petro-domino to fall? Will the Saudi dynasty of King Khalid go the way of the Shah's Pahlavi dynasty? The prevailing opinion among press and government commentators suggests that it will.

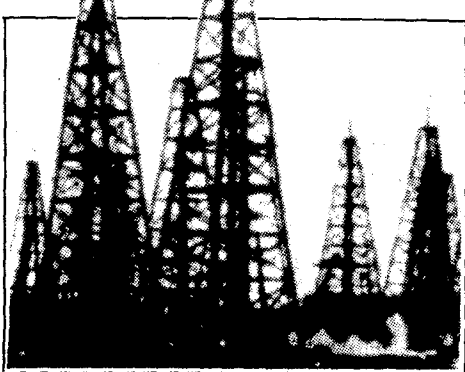
Joseph Kraft states, "The oil giant has feet of clay." William Safire predicts a "sheikh-out" of Saudi leadership in the coming year. Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's national security adviser, puts the Saudis at the center of his "arc of crisis." Echoed elsewhere, the notion persists that oil-wealth and Islamic fundamentalism don't mix—that as Iran goes, so goes Saudi Arabia.

But such reasoning is twice flawed. It suggests, first, that events in oil-rich Islamic nations must follow American preconceived notions. And, second, it is founded on an abysmal lack of knowledge or understanding of Saudi Arabian politics, religion and society.

The question of stability in Saudi Arabia is best divided into three aspects: the Saudi's vulnerability to external threats; the present domestic political situation inside Saudi Arabia; and the longer range pressures which might undermine Saudi stability.

External threats.

In terms of security, the fact is that the flow of Saudi oil can be easily interrupted as it was in the early 1970s, when the Trans-Arabian Pipeline to the



Mediterranean was ruptured and closed by a single Syrian bulldozer. In 1977, two accidental explosions near the huge Abqaiq oilfield caused \$100 million damage and reduced production for six weeks. Today, the pipelines bearing 97 percent of Saudi oil converge into a single refining and shipping complex at Ras Tanura. For all the visible security precautions, the facility remains vulnerable to a one-time sabotage operation by trained commandos.

"We worry," says a senior Saudi security official, "because we have natural wealth, long borders, and few people. With few natural barriers like forests or rivers, our desert is wide open." Yet except for the volatile current situation in Iran, the external threats to Saudi security at the moment are not immediate.

In the Horn of Africa, the arrival in recent years of 17,000 Cuban military advisors has been a cause of considerable anxiety. And on Saudi Arabia's southern borders, North and South Yemenis working in Saudi Arabia than in either of the two Yemens, the migrant workers are regarded as a potential fifth column. A chronically unstable republic,

North Yemen has gone through four presidents in four years.

In South Yemen, the Soviets have naval and guided missile facilities, several hundred East Germans who run the security and intelligence services, and about 2000 Cubans who instruct the local commandos.

"What really worries us," says the Saudi official, "is all those Cubans on our periphery."

In an actual military confrontation, the undermanned and largely illiterate Saudi land forces would not fare well. The Royal Saudi Air Force, with only 137 planes and 100 trained fighter pilots, might delay a determined invader, perhaps give him a bloody nose. But for many years to come, the Saudis' only credible deterrent and assurance of security will be America's own military need to defend the principal supplier of Western oil.

Internal calm.

While the external threats to Saudi Arabia have failed to materialize, a repetition of the "Khomeini Syndrome" of opposition from the traditional religious establishment inside Saudi Arabia is even less likely because Saudi Arabia is already a theocracy.

The leading family of religious elders, the Al ash-Sheikh, are heavily intermarried with the ruling House of Saud, who seek their advice and blessing for all policy decisions. The "Libyan Scenario" of an armed forces takeover directed by some unknown Qaddafi also seems improbable. The land forces are drawn mostly from the royal province of Nejd and from conservative tribal elements fiercely loyal to the Saudi family. The elite Air Force is cobwebbed with trained young princes in command positions, so a military coup seems no more likely than a post office coup.

Nor is a secular revolt any more likely than a religious or military one.

A middle class, as such, does not exist in Saudi Arabia, a traditional society organized largely along tribal lines. The closest counterpart is the merchant clans of Jidda and the young Ph.D's in government, whose interests are firmly wedded to the regime which generates and dispenses their wealth. When everyone can keep going back for more pie there is noticeably little concern for how it is sliced.

The fact is that Saudi society is strikingly stable, virtually unique in the Mid-

dle East for its lack of opposition, or even of what could fairly be termed dissent. Change in Saudi Arabia is not the result of agitation from below, but reform guided from above. The country, in fact, is most emphatically not "another Iran."

Fear Yanks buying oil.

Saudi Arabia is perhaps best described as the only family-owned business recognized by the UN. Or, as one American-educated prince explains, "We are not just working for the system; we are the system."

The Royal Family's legitimacy is based on its having institutionalized the traditional roles of *sheikh* (tribal chief) and *imam* (leader of the faithful). About 3000 princes spread around the kingdom and through all sectors of the society also ensure that, unlike Iran's Pahlavi dynasty, the House of Saud will not be a one-bullet regime.

Thus the traditional sources of crisis, those which American experts look to—succession, external aggression and internal dissent—are relatively stable, if not insignificant, in Saudi Arabia. But there is a crisis of another kind, and Americans are playing an unwitting role in it.

The native population of Saudi Arabia numbers about four million, but half of them are too old or too young to be part of the work force; half are women excluded from public life, and only about one in eight can write and read Arabic. Thus there are only about 250,000 adult male literate Saudis trying to manage a society driven headlong by oil revenues of about \$1 billion a week.

Under these circumstances, the greatest long-term threat to Saudi Arabia's stability is the destabilizing influence of continuing, massive oil production itself. Saudi policy makers keep urging Americans to use energy more wisely, talking about endowing solar energy or saying they hope recent oil discoveries in Mexico and China will ease some of the pressure on them in the 1980s.

It is America's own continuing inability to devolve a rational energy policy, and to stop squandering energy so profusely, that casts the darkest shadow over the Saudi future.

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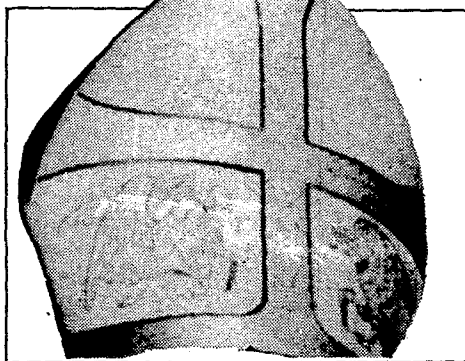
Peter A. Iseman, a contributing editor of *Harper's*, has travelled extensively in the Arab world. He is writing a book on Saudi Arabia.

JOE HOLLAND

Pope John Paul steers middle course between Church left and right

WHILE ALL 40 SPEECHES OF Pope John Paul II need to be carefully studied before any judgments can be made on his message, a few basic elements seem clear from his address to the bishops at Puebla. In that text, there are things which will please and disturb both the right and the left, suggesting a centrist style for the papacy of Karol Wojtyla from Poland. The right

could be pleased because he reaffirmed the primacy of correct doctrine (in contrast to praxis) and suggested that "new readings" of the Gospel, which see Jesus as a revolutionary in class struggle, are founded on false doctrine. He repeatedly condemned a religious style that would reduce faith to political and social activism. Some mistakenly interpret the Kingdom of God secularly, he warned, as changing of social structures, as only political involvement, or as any activity for justice. In sum, the right-leaning parts of the message, mainly theological, came down



strongly against secular humanism, especially in radical form, and insisted on the specific contribution of faith to the human condition. This is not surprising, since faith has been the strong weapon of the Polish Church against Communist repression.

The left, however, had some elements it could still build on. If the Pope warned that faith could not be reduced to the political, he did not reject the social arena either. To the contrary, he referred to the socially-oriented Medellin documents (1968) as the point of departure for the

conference; called for a new humanity with a new social consciousness; insisted that the Gospel speaks to all ranges of life, states, economic and political systems, culture, civilization and development; condemned torture, the denial of political rights, and the failure to meet basic human needs; and reaffirmed that action for justice is an essential part of the Church's mission.

To both right and left, the Pope spoke repeatedly of unity—among the bishops, between the bishops and the Pope, and at all levels of the church. This message is no light word, since the Pope knows that the consolidation of the Eastern Church in the first millennium and of the Western Church in the second millennium eventually led to massive splits in the Christian family. The same is not unthinkable for the Southern Church in the third millennium.

The Pope's message called above all for unity between the poles, for continuing social involvement in the justice struggle, but for better grounding in the Christian tradition. The "Theology of Liberation" wing will probably see the attacks on the left as a caricature of its position and reaffirm its own basis in the faith tradition. It will interpret the speech as a reminder, not a condemnation. But the right will certainly take selective advantage of the speech to call for banishment of the new theological direction.

Especially disappointing to the left must have been that the new Pope, visiting a church increasingly persecuted by military dictatorships, never mentioned the new martyrs. Also missing was any concrete analysis of the historical situation of the Latin American Church.

Penny Lernoux, *National Catholic Reporter* Latin American affairs writer,

in a dispatch from Puebla, has stated that conservative, moderate and progressive wings of the Church agreed that the Pope's speeches contained six common themes:

1. The Pope did not come to tell the Latin American bishops what they could and could not do, but to offer broad guidelines.

2. The Puebla conference should not only continue the prophetic line adopted by the bishops at the 1968 Medellin conference, but also take a step forward at a new moment of history.

3. The Church, like Jesus, must identify with the disinherited—the sick, the imprisoned, the hungry, the lonely.

4. The preaching of the Gospel is not to be identified with ideologies of partisan causes, but has a different, more profound, mission in search of total liberation, temporal and spiritual.

5. Violence, of the left or right, is unchristian and to be condemned.

6. In promoting social justice in Latin America, the Church should give special attention to family and youth, Indians, peasants and laborers.

On the fourth point, Lernoux quoted Marcos McGrath, Archbishop of Panama, as saying, "The Pope is saying that faith cannot be conditioned by ideologies; on the contrary, ideology must be conditioned by faith. We must stop distorting God as a capitalist."

The next move was with the bishops themselves in their two week meeting which has now concluded. That will be the topic of the third installment of this report.

This is the second in a series on the Church and the Pope's Latin American tour.

Joe Holland is an associate of the Center of Concern, a Catholic policy study institute, Washington, D.C.

IN DEPTH

Carter throws peanuts to cities

By Marc A. Weiss
and Erica Schoenberger

Last November, just after the demise of the main elements of President Carter's urban legislative package, Presidential adviser Anne Wender commented, "There has been no diminution in our commitment. We're just looking for a new strategy to get it introduced and passed." Now that President Carter has announced his proposed budget for 1980, the "new" urban strategy is, peanuts for the cities.

In order to pave the way for an \$11 billion increase in defense spending, Carter has wielded a heavy axe on a wide variety of urban aid programs and other social services that benefit low and moderate income people and minorities.

CETA jobs, already slashed last year by 100,000 are due for further cuts of 158,000 positions under Carter's budget proposals. New York City alone will be forced to lay off 7000 CETA employees.

A separate program, the summer jobs for youth, which is particularly needed in urban ghettos, is being pared back by a whopping 25 percent. Carter's solution: 14-year-olds will lose eligibility.

Public housing and subsidized rental assistance for low and moderate income families is slated to be cut by nearly 10 percent, although low interest housing rehabilitation loans in newly chic inner city neighborhoods will be increased. Since most of these loans go to higher-income individuals, this seems to be a clear case of adding insult to injury.

Urban League president Vernon Jordan argues that Carter's austerity policy combined with an already intolerable unemployment rate is pushing black Americans to "the brink of disaster."

A friend in the White House?

The drastic cutbacks in federal urban assistance are all the more striking given Carter's pledge just last spring that "the cities of our country have a friend, an ally and a partner in the White House." This pledge was the capstone of the President's announcement of a "comprehensive national urban policy," March 23, 1978, promising an extra \$5 billion in new city programs and a reordering of federal urban priorities. Most urban leaders are now puzzling over the precise whereabouts of their friendly partner.

Carter's announcement came nearly two years after making a campaign promise in July 1976 to focus federal attention on solving urban problems if elected President. By July 1977, many of the voices who helped put Carter into office on the basis of this and similar pledges were angry at the White House's lack of responsiveness. Vernon Jordan made a critical speech that galvanized the administration into action. A flurry of Cabinet-level meetings and federal task forces resulted in the set of proposals the President unveiled with considerable fanfare last March.

The substance of the proposed urban policy fell roughly into four categories. First, President Carter promised more interagency coordination and a new process called "Urban Impact Analysis" whereby the federal government would try to consider the specifically urban impacts of any new programs or policies. The purpose of this process is to avoid a repetition of the disastrous impact FHA mortgage insurance, interstate highway funding, federal energy policies and other "non-urban" programs have had on central cities in the past 30 years.

A second element of the proposed strategy was to increase the "targeting" of federal spending whereby urban-oriented programs would concentrate on the "most distressed" cities, neighborhoods and people. Targeted efforts were to include the location of federal facilities, federal procurement policy, fiscal assistance to city treasuries, public works funding, and public service jobs programs.

The third idea stressed in Carter's approach was the notion of "leveraging" a modest amount of federal dollars to induce a greater commitment of private resources to economic revitalization of cities. The bulk of this program consisted of large subsidies to business in the form of tax credits, loans, loan guarantees, and grants. In addition, smaller sums were promised to neighborhood and self-help groups to help finance housing rehabilitation and other projects.

Do not pass Go...

The high point of all this hoopla came last August when Carter signed Executive Orders implementing the Urban Impact Analysis, the interagency review process, and the targeting of federal facilities and procurement. On the Congressional front, however, things were considerably bleaker. Almost all of the legislative proposals were on their way to defeat.

All of the administration's "highest priority" urban programs, including public works, supplemental fiscal aid and countercyclical revenue sharing, and incentive grants to states, ran aground on Capitol Hill. Public service jobs also sank, as did the National Development Bank. The only major initiatives to clear Congress were an employment tax credit and the extension of the investment tax credit to rehabilitated structures. These two business subsidies were passed only after they shed their urban image and were "folded into" the markedly pro-business 1978 Tax Bill.

One reason for the failure of this huge package of legislation is the lack of any significant backing by the Carter administration. It seems that President Carter was content to fulfill his campaign pledge to promulgate an urban policy and equally content to see that policy fail. One Congressional staffer characterized the administration's disorganized and unenthusiastic lobbying effort as "a bunch of second tier Treasury people ra-tap-tapping on everybody's door." The only hard lobbying for some of the proposals was done by the urban constituencies themselves.

The Great Leap Backward.

The much-heralded national urban policy has left behind scant traces of glory. Of the four Executive Orders, the interagency review process is clearly meaningless, and the targeting of federal facilities and procurement has thus far been honored more in the breach than the observance. Federal agencies and the scandal-ridden General Services Administration are already in a fit of utter confusion over the previous Presidential mandates to target their activities to high-unemployment rural areas, women and minorities, veterans, handicapped individuals, and a host of other people and places.

Urban Impact Analysis (UIA) remains the most promising of the Executive Orders, but it too is fraught with problems. To begin with, unlike Environmental Impact Statements, UIAs are not legally binding. Secondly, UIAs only apply to new federal initiatives, not existing programs or policies. Thirdly, each agency decides which initiatives it wants to au-

alyze and performs the analysis on itself. And finally, the ideology of UIAs shift the terms of debate by blaming the federal government for urban ills, rather than the private sector, which certainly must bear its share of the responsibility. Private corporations should also be required to account for their own negative urban impacts.

Of last year's tattered legislative package, the sole born-again administration initiative for 1980 is Carter's proposal for a National Development Bank. This controversial measure has the virtue in Carter's eyes of being as big a boondoggle for the business community as last year's Tax Bill. By limiting the Bank's subsidies to only the most credit-worthy clients, Carter is ensuring that the primary recipients of this federal beneficence will be large corporations that are least in need of assistance.

Whether any new jobs will be created by this approach is highly doubtful, since several detailed studies by Professors Bennett Harrison and Sandra Kanter in Boston and Roger Vaughn of the RAND Corporation have convincingly demonstrated that these types of business incentives have virtually no effect on corporate decisions, and merely reward them for doing what they would have done anyway. Smaller, high-risk companies or community-based and cooperative enterprises that could significantly benefit from federal capital subsidies, will not be eligible for National Development Bank loans.

The notion that the National Development Bank could generate even the slightest bit of excitement among urban groups was quickly squelched in November when the National League of Cities refused to endorse the measure after President Carter actively solicited their support.

Since none of the other major initiatives is even being contemplated by the administration, at this point the "national urban policy" is just about dead. The

New York Times recently quoted Richard Nathan of the Brookings Institution as saying, "The heyday of urban policy may turn out to have been the period just before the announcement of the Carter urban program."

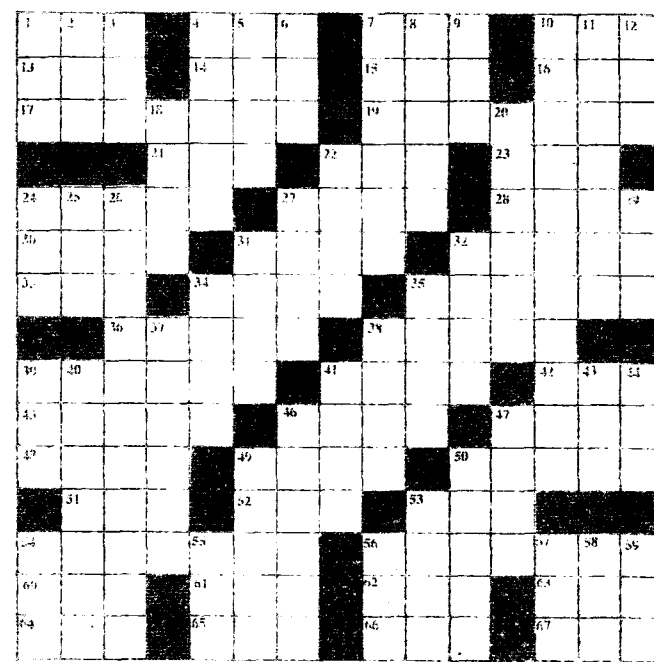
Obstacles and opportunities.

Part of the reason for the difficulties that the urban efforts encountered in Congress last year is that the constituency groups themselves are divided as to how to proceed. Representatives of declining Northeastern and Midwestern cities pushed for targeting spending on the basis of slow growth rates in jobs and population, while southern urban lobbies are more concerned about targeting to cities with large numbers of low income people. In other words, each side in the urban wing of the "Frostbelt-Sunbelt" controversy wants more for itself and is unwilling to compromise. Neither side has the votes and Carter gets off scot-free with promises but no programs.

Even if the warring regional congressional delegations had united and Carter's entire program had passed, however, the most serious city problems would still have persisted. The unequal distribution of income, wealth and power, racial and sexual discrimination, and the unbridled dominance of large corporations on all our lives will not disappear with increased countercyclical revenue sharing.

Continued efforts at organizing on the local level aimed at creating viable alternative economic institutions and attaining political power are necessary steps to ensure that the next national urban policy is more than just a big smile from the White House.

Marc A. Weiss is professor of city and regional planning, University of California, Berkeley. He and Erica Schoenberger are members of the National Urban Policy Collective, which participated in preparing this article.

Two Revolutionaries
by David Mermelstein

ACROSS

- 1 Swift's Tale of
2 _____
4 Patty's abductors:
Abbrev.
7 Outer edge
13 "_____ lily among
thorns..." (The
Song of Songs)
14 Golf goal
15 Before
16 Connects with
BMT and IND
17 Persian tyrant
19 Tunical
21 Cream or cube
22 Chess pieces
23 Durocher or
Tolstoy
24 Deliver an address
27 Nobelist Andre
28 Singer _____ Fitz-
gerald
30 Fear, in Nantes
31 Clownishly crazy
32 Dashes

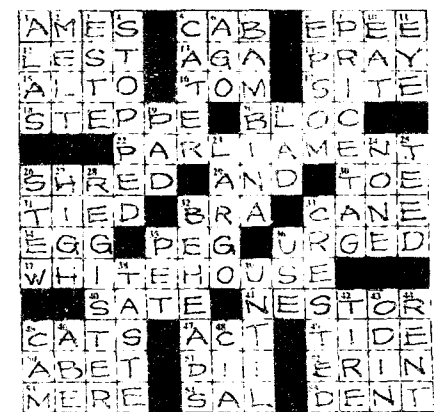
- 33 Neighbor of Bol.
34 Feared
35 Fertilizer
36 Artist's frame
38 Ecclesiastical
mantles
39 She seeks power
again, in India
41 _____ and hounds
42 His art. no. is 50
45 Attends an ecole
46 Candy
47 Sea eagle
48 Sitar player _____
Shankar
49 Rescue
50 I.E. _____
51 Radical campus org.
52 Wrath
53 Neighbor of Ala.
54 Winter sport: Var.
56 Double Nobelist
60 Flap or loop
61 Chou En-
62 Unit of work
63 Shad or Preacher
64 Printer's measures

DOWN

- 1 Type of dance
2 North of Mex.
3 Scrooge's interjec-
tion
4 Small spot
5 Wash
6 Onassis, to friends

DOWN

- 55 Family or class
56 Found in a pod
57 Gershwin brother
58 "Oh, do _____ ask,
What is it?"
59 Draft animal com-
mand



- 7 Solution
8 Goodnight woman
9 Tonne or Oit
10 Living revolutionary
11 Baltimore birds
12 And so forth
13 Deceiver
20 Chemical ester
22 Tendi
24 Robert
25 _____ them
26 American revolu-
tionary, 1855-1936
27 Cell
29 Tree
31 Two, in Bremen
32 Core
34 Wimbledon winner,
1973
35 Wine
37 Counsel
38 Flog
39 Lat. verb form
40 Fairbanks resident
41 Bee shelter
43 Hotel
44 Bos. Truman, _____
Wallace
46 Edge
47 See 12 Down
49 Mid-east peninsula
50 Hiss hard
53 Crop area
54 Theresa or Berna-
dette

PRO:

By Elizabeth Moore

Those in favor of providing free abortion programs usually claim they are offering "freedom of choice" to the poor. But this argument has failed to enlist the support of the poor themselves. That fact has caused notable embarrassment for many abortion supporters. Columnist Ellen Goodman, a strong advocate of unrestricted abortion, lamented that the silence of those who have received Medicaid abortions "does not go unnoticed by legislators."

There are several reasons for this obvious non-enthusiasm for abortion among the disadvantaged.

Since poverty effectively serves to limit one's choices in all areas, the pro-abortion slogan, "freedom of choice," is not particularly relevant to the needy. No one chooses to be poor in the first place. The politics of "free choice" has very little to offer a class of people who by necessity are concerned with survival. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to conclude that the abortion "rights" movement is decidedly not motivated by an absolute concern for the impoverished.

While poor people in this country have focused their demands on adequate food, housing, education, and employment, it is clear to even the most casual observer that these needs remain largely unmet. But the "cause" of abortions-for-the-poor has generated a surprising amount of bipartisan political activity and the support of some relatively conservative allies.

Why? "Choice" aside, one of the most compelling arguments of the funding advocates is that payment for a poor woman's abortion is cheaper than live birth and subsequent AFDC payments.

It should come as no surprise that the poor become highly suspicious when basic necessities of life remain unattainable while unlimited abortion funds are offered as a solution to the "high cost" of welfare.

In a pro-abortion classic, syndicated columnist Harriet Van Horne wrote that there is hardly a social problem in this country that cannot be blamed on excess population. "There are too many births," she says, "particularly to the disadvantaged and the genetically unfit." Clearly displaying her attitudes towards her fellow humans, she adds that a cut-off of federal abortion funds is an injustice to "a nation that truly cannot afford any more welfare babies."

At the White House Conference on Hunger held in 1969, a special panel submitted various recommendations that included:

- Mandatory abortion for any unmarried woman found to be not over three months pregnant; and
- Mandatory sterilization of all such women giving birth out of wedlock for a second time.

Endorsed by the late Alan Guttmacher, president of Planned Parenthood World Population and a member of the panel, the recommendations were suddenly withdrawn because of strong objections by civil rights workers.

Population control forces did not achieve real prominence until the early 1970s when, ironically, the national birth rate fell below the stabilization level. But certain groups were still bearing children at a rate higher than the average, notably minority groups and low-income people.

Court cases, civil suits and legislative proposals have shown the potential validity of legal compulsion. But perhaps the most subtle form of coercion, the economic factor, remains the most widespread. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, in administering the Medicaid program, pays 90 percent of states' expenses in family planning programs while, at the same time, offering as little as 50 percent of the cost of other health care services for the poor.

This serves to insure that birth control (including abortion) is given a priority

DEBATE

Pro and Con: Does free abortion hurt the poor and minorities?

CON:

By Karen Mulhauser

Much of what Elizabeth Moore says about the need to provide for the already born cannot be disputed. It is encouraging to read a statement by an abortion opponent that discusses some of the human tragedy of real human beings. We almost begin to see an understanding of the desperation that exists in the lives of the American poor, but then we lose sight of it when Moore falls back on the mythology that surrounds the anti-abortion movement.

Unlike most anti-abortion literature that focuses on outlawing all abortion and passing an amendment to the U.S. Constitution to achieve that goal, Moore is here concerned with the issue of abortion funding for low-income women. She bases her opposition to abortion funding on two theses: that abortion for the poor is (1) racist and genocidal, and (2) doesn't solve the real problems of poverty such as housing, education, hunger and health care.

Moore bases her whole approach on a false assumption—that the poor do not want abortions. I'm sure that poor women, like all other women, would rather prevent than terminate an unwanted pregnancy, but the facts speak for themselves.

Poor women use legal abortion in disproportionately high percentages today, and they died from illegal abortion in disproportionately high percentages in the past. People simply do not seek legal medical care unless it is both needed and wanted, and they do not risk their lives at the hands of illegal abortion butchers if the procedure is not wanted. Several studies document that poor women and minority women want small families as do the more well off, but because they do not have adequate access to preventive methods of fertility control, the need for abortion is higher.

I find it extremely offensive to read Moore's claims that proponents' efforts to restore abortion funding for the poor is a demonstration of "racism," "prejudice" and of "resentment toward the disadvantaged." Such sensational name-calling only serves further to polarize debate and is certainly not substantiated by facts nor endorsed by minority leadership in the country.

The Black Caucus in Congress has consistently advocated abortion funding as a means to better the lives of disadvantaged blacks. Minority groups such as the National Council of Negro Women, Urban League, National Conference of Black Lawyers, IMAGE, Mexican American Women's National Association, support the right to choose abortion.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights recognized the right of minority groups to have abortions, and noted that legislative restrictions jeopardize the rights of minority women who are disproportionately over-represented among the poor.

Genocide in this country existed when abortion was illegal and minority women died in disproportionate numbers; children were left motherless and daughters died needlessly. Indeed, the first known death after the abortion funding ban began in 1977 was to a Chicana woman,

who had an illegal abortion after being told her Medicaid card wouldn't help her get legal care.

Moore's second theme is that it would be far better to provide services and programs for the needy rather than provide abortions. It is obvious that free abortion alone will not bring the nation's poor out of poverty, but it is equally obvious to poor women who seek abortions that bringing another hungry child into the world is not the way to break the poverty cycle.

No one disagrees with the contention that it is advantageous for all of society to find solutions to poverty, but it is ironic that various analyses of abortion opponents, inside and outside of Congress, demonstrate that abortion foes also disapprove of the necessary social and welfare programs. A recent National Abortion Rights Action League study clearly demonstrates that most anti-abortion members of Congress are also anti-human welfare.

In 1978 votes, 71 percent of the anti-choice legislators fell into a low social conscience category, meaning they voted against more than two-thirds of the social issues studied (such as job safety, public service employment, ERA, consumer protection).

An earlier study of 1977 social welfare issues (such as food stamp subsidies, fuel assistance, minimum wage, and school lunch programs) found similar results, with a third of the so-called "pro-lifers" scoring zero on social issues. This agrees with an independent study of churchgoing Catholics conducted by a Catholic research center (the Quixote Center, Baltimore, Md.) where the results show Catholics favoring an anti-abortion constitutional amendment "were less likely to be 'pro-life' on a wider range of social issues than those who oppose the amendment."

Oregon voters were asked in a referendum during the November 1978 elections if they wanted to use their tax dollars to pay for abortions for low-income women. This is the only time American voters have been asked to address this issue and with an 80 percent voter turnout Oregonians said yes, they want their taxes to be used in this way.

Pregnancy in this country is a medical condition and requires medical care whether the pregnancy is carried to full term, or is aborted, or a miscarriage occurs. If the government funds only one outcome but not others, it in effect creates a coercive policy. For many of the nation's poor, even the cost of an abortion is not within reach. To allow funding for abortions simply allows the same options for the poor as are available for others. An argument of "genocide" or "coercion" might be understandable if the government were *only* funding abortions for minority women and not prenatal care and delivery—but, in fact, the exact opposite is the case.

One often hears the claim that doctors and clinics providing abortion services are financially exploiting women. There have been abuses. But as a generalization it is a spurious and unfounded argument. The cost of a legal early abortion averages about \$150, with a doctor's fee of \$25 to \$50. The cost of illegal abortions range from \$500 to \$1500. With hefty fees for prenatal care and delivery, a doctor who wanted to make money would advise the patient to continue the pregnancy rather than abort.

There are other myths in Moore's argument, but here I have addressed only some of the most conspicuous. Until we have family planning programs that are accessible to all and offer 100 percent effective methods, and until we have education programs that inform couples about parenting and about contraception, there will continue to be a need for safe and legal abortions.

Karen Mulhauser is a leader of the National Abortion Rights Action League, 825 15th St., NW, Washington, DC 20005.

LIFE IN THE U.S.

SPORTS INTERVIEW

Basketball star raps recruiters and team owners

By Mark Naison

During the late 1960s Dean Meminger was one of the most heavily recruited basketball players to come out of New York City. A two-year All American at Marquette University, Meminger was a first-round draft choice of the New York Knicks, and he played on their 1973 championship team. Meminger played in the NBA for six years. He was never a great outside shooter, but his ball handling, defense, and team leadership made him an outstanding performer. Meminger now works as a director of special programs for the Police Athletic League. He lectures to young athletes on the problems of sports careers and has been active in the movement to end sports contacts with South Africa.

How old were you when you first started playing basketball? How direct was your route from pickup games to the pros?

I first picked up a basketball when I was in the first or second grade, while I was living in South Carolina. I saw my friends playing and I made a basket out of a hanger and a piece of wire. I realized early that I had talent and I kept working on my game. By the time I was 12, in my last year of grammar school, schools had started to recruit me.

When my family moved to New York, I had a difficult adjustment. In the South people played a team-oriented style that emphasized fundamentals and passing the ball, whereas in New York, at least in the school yards, it was all one-on-one, trying to prove your manhood by humiliating your opponent.

Nevertheless, within six months of my arrival, I had become the most recruited grammar school player in New York City. I attended Rice High School, a Catholic school, on a full scholarship, and helped lead their junior varsity team to an undefeated season in my freshman year. In my sophomore year, I moved up to the varsity and made all-city first team the next three years. I had the same kind of success when I played college ball for Marquette. As a result, making the pros just seemed to be a logical consequence.

When universities were recruiting you, did they offer you cash payments or other benefits in violation of NCAA rules?

Yes. There were schools that offered me housing, cars and money. But at the time, I was more interested in going to school and playing basketball than in being paid for it. I still enjoyed the artistry of the game, and I went to a school that just gave me a scholarship and a \$15-a-month laundry allowance. But if I were going to college now I think I might have demanded a greater payoff. Because I realize now that college sports is professional sports in disguise.

Would it be good to have Division I schools pay salaries to their players?

Yes. In those sports programs, everyone gets paid except the athlete. You bring them fame and notoriety, you bring them capital, and you provide entertainment for all those people, so why shouldn't you get a share of the profits?

Most universities come into communities such as Harlem or Watts and recruit the player without knowing anything

about his personal life outside of his basketball talents—his family situation, whether he has psychological problems, whether he can read better than a fourth-grade level.

When I was going to school, the major universities tended to go after the blue-chipper, the good athlete who was also a good student. But now they'll take people who can barely read and write, who've never seen a SAT, because there's so much more money involved. They will doctor transcripts and break every rule in the book to get ball players onto those campuses because that gives them access to television contracts and gate receipts.

Are high school coaches in New York City telling their players what they are up against?

No. Because the high school coaches are doing the same thing, on a smaller scale. They are recruiting kids out of junior high and grammar schools to build winning programs, to keep their jobs. Even coaches who are honest or aware of the exploitation of athletes will rarely say anything about it, because they hope to become college coaches.

"Athletes take drugs because of the competition, the pressure, and money—just like stockbrokers do."

Congress may put pressure on the NCAA to force reforms in college sports.

The way I see it, Congress is like the right hand of the economic structure, so how are they going to tell the economic structure what to do? They may change a few laws, but they won't interfere with the flow of money into those athletic programs.

Have you tried to acquaint high school students with the pitfalls they face in college sports programs?

Every opportunity I get, whether it's at a speaking engagement or a clinic. I try to tell them what they are up against. And I think it's important for people like me to do this, because it's an unfortunate and tragic fact, that kids in this country have more respect for an athlete than they have for their own parents, and will listen to what he has to say.

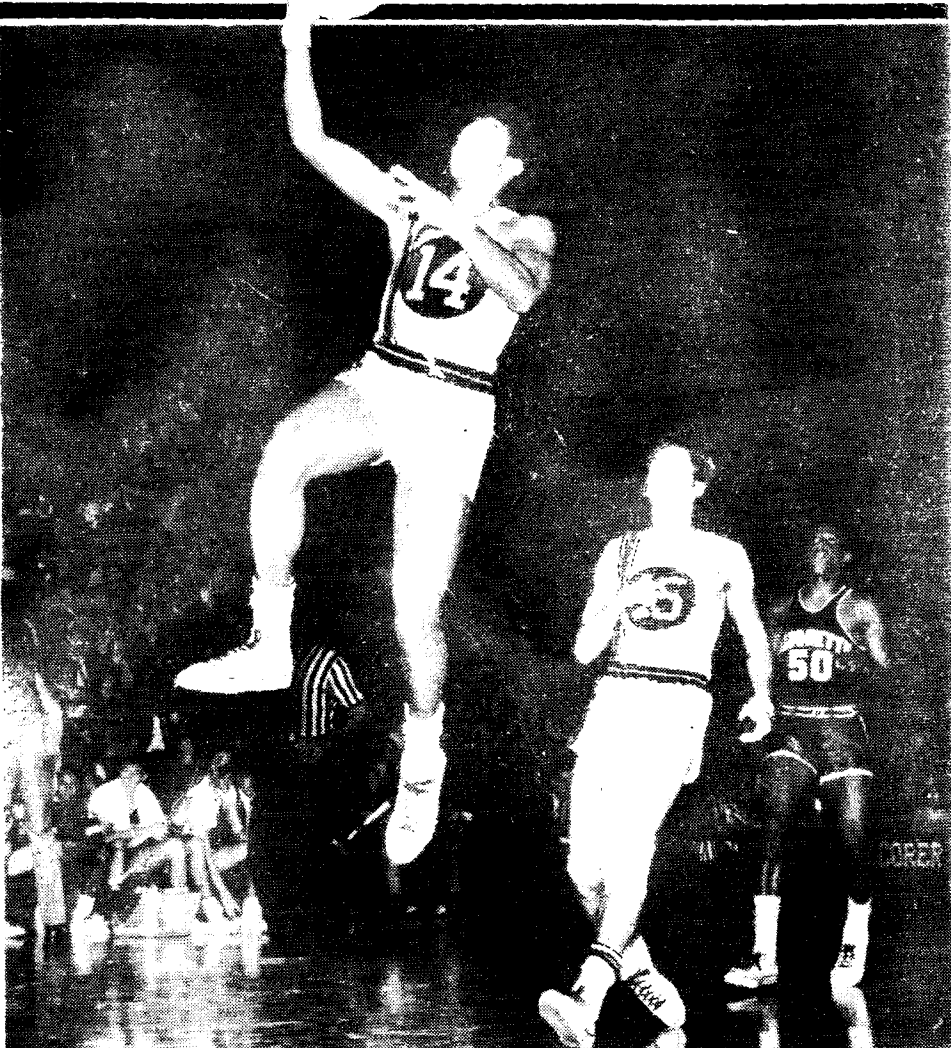
Are there other professional athletes who feel the same way you do?

I think many feel this way as individuals, but I think there comes a point where you have to organize on the basis of those feelings, and that hasn't happened yet.

What was the biggest adjustment you had to make when you came into the NBA?

Dealing with the insecurity—of not knowing whether you'd play, of whether you'd get along with your teammates, of whether you'd be traded. In college you knew your teammates were with you, and you knew the most important thing was winning. And there were only one or two stars on each team so that competition between players was minimized.

In the pros, everyone talks about winning, but teams are not that cohesive. Players are less concerned with team success, or the artistry of the game, than



Dean Meminger during his years at Marquette.

they are with the fame and money they're going to get as a result of their individual efforts.

Were the Knicks championship teams you played on in the early '70s an exception to that rule?

To some degree. The Knicks team may have been the most intelligent group of

Do you think that some action will be taken soon to reduce season length?

I don't think so. Eliminating games means losing dollars at the gate every year. The people who own those teams don't care about the quality of the play or the health of the players. Their main concern is the bottom dollar. The team is just one of their numerous investments.

It seems to me that many of the NBA champion teams have had more than their share of intelligent ball players.

Absolutely. This summer I spent some time in California working out with the Portland Trailblazers, who were sponsoring a team of their rookies in a summer basketball league. Assistant coaches from the other teams were so impressed with the players they drafted that they were asking whether Portland chose players on their IQ.

In the Portland organization, there is teaching and coaching going on every day, and that is the way it should be, whether on a college or professional level. When you're recruiting ballplayers, you have to look for a lot more than physical skills. You want to know a player's whole history. Did he win in junior high school? In high school? Did he always have to be the central figure? Could he sacrifice his points for the good of the team?

Because a team reaches its peak when everyone concerned sees the total picture and meshes their skills. Unfortunately, it doesn't happen very often, especially in the pros.

The Knick teams you played on and the championship Trailblazers team were exhilarating to watch.

It was an orchestration of bodies, like you were sitting on top of a mountain and watching these forms as they went through their different movements. And when you saw it, it was like a miracle happening before you, one that might never be duplicated again.

How important is the media in shaping the athlete's experience in professional sports?

Very important. They can make or break careers, not only for players but for coaches. Red Holzman's greatest asset, as opposed to Willis Reed, was that he knew how to handle the New York press. Willis lost his job not because of difficulties with his players, but because of his inability to deal with reporters and the Knick management.

Continued on page 23.

-VIOLENCE-

Youth murders follow movie and boost attendance rates

By Pat Aufderheide

The Warriors (see review, next page), forms the latest evidence in the messy issue of morality and the media. In its first week, deaths, fights, and vandalism erupted at theaters showing it.

In Oxnard, Calif., an 18-year-old white youth died in a fight with a black gang outside a theater after a screening. In Boston, two gang members stabbed an enemy just after they had seen the film. A Palm Springs, Calif., youth shot in the head after a showing, died four days later. One group of youths trashed a bathroom (a situation that happens in the film) in a Brooklyn theater.

Audiences are made up of

prime candidates for this kind of angry display. Typically, they are young (between 17 and 21), male and racially mixed. Anyone who watched the film will recall the growing thrill of excitement, and the audience's raucous participation with the characters in the fight scenes.

By the end of the first week's showings, Paramount was ready to withdraw the film and to substitute another Paramount release for *The Warriors*. But many theater owners weren't.

Why? Because it was rivaling *Grease* for its first-week box office take around the country. New York reported \$1 million gross receipts for the first week, at 68 theaters; Los Angeles reported \$275,000 at 15 theaters; nine Chicago theaters took in

\$305,000, and *The Warriors* also made top draw in Seattle, Boston, Detroit, Philadelphia and San Francisco. Most theaters were peaceful, but further box office action was generated by news of the violent incidents.

Given theaters' reluctance to say goodbye to a golden goose, Paramount nervously authorized funds to pay for extra security guards at troubled sites. Further, the distributor pulled all paid advertising for the film.

"We didn't want to have people watching a news report on some kids having trouble and then three seconds later see an ad exhorting people to go to the film," Ed Kalish, a Paramount vice-president for publicity and promotion told IN THESE TIMES. "It just isn't in the best of taste."

Warriors is part of a current movie trend. It is one of several films about gangs—the "substitute families" and substitute careers of the cities' futureless young men—made for a working-class "youth market" whose appetite for Kung-fu films seems to be waning. *Saturday Night Fever* apparently signalled the potential profit in a film about urban gangs in search of something to believe in.

Boulevard Nights (featured on the cover of the latest *American Film*) is one of the best-known of the coming films. It is a low-budget film about Chicano gangs in the L.A. barrio. It uses a Chicano cast, including a few gang members. *Gang!* (hastily retitled *Walk Proud* last week, in the wake of news about *The Warriors*) also takes place in East L.A. A "Latino love story," its shooting was marked by fights between locals and film crew and within the cast, where gang members clashed with actors. *Defiance* pits a merchant seaman (Jan-Michael Vincent) against a gang in Spanish Harlem, and *On the Edge* is about gangs of upper-middle-



THE WARRIORS: fight scene.

class suburban kids. Other scripts, including *America, Me* (a Chicano gang leader's autobiography), scripted by Floyd Mutrux, are under consideration. A TV sitcom on urban gangs is also being advertised.

The Warriors starkly illustrates the problems of portraying violence in fiction. Paramount's Kalish points out that the problem isn't linked just to their film, and that it is occasional; he cites a fatal stabbing after a showing of *The Wiz*, for instance, or the



By Ianthe Thomas

He stands amid a moonscape of decay. Beyond where eyes can see, building after building burnt, empty, filled with rubble, crushed brick, warped tin, maybe one intact wall scratched with graffiti that speaks of living.

A rain-softened cardboard box moves over the rubble as if propelled by a steady wind. Nato lifts a sharpened broom handle above his head. He screams and sends the spear flying through the air. The box is still. He motions to me with his hand as he kicks the box over. Its heart still faintly pumping, the cat-sized rat jerks its head one last time. Nato's laugh starts in his belly, spilling out of his throat, ending in a scream.

"If you write what is true, why don't things change?" he asks

me. "Why do people want to know about us? Why do you want to know about us? Can you help? Not only money, but making buildings again. Making nice trees for people and jobs for men. Why do people want to know if it don't mean nothing?"

Nato takes the tape recorder from my shoulder bag and holds the mike to my mouth. We walk into the doorless hallway of his mother's building. The first floor is empty. All apartments stripped of doors, windows, floorboards, fixtures. A little girl, maybe three or four, sits in a discarded tire at the top of the stairs.

Outside a dog barks and a woman screams at a child in Spanish. Nato speaks.

"My name is Nato. I am 15 years old. I am a member of the Savage Nomads. We are cold-blooded and we don't take no shit

from nobody. Today I'm talking to the world. I am just talking what I want to talk.

"I been raised in the gangs. Like my brothers were, only they are in jail now and one's on junk so my mother said he's dead. Gangs are families. Like brothers and sisters all together. We rumble cause you have to show blood. Blood is strength. In the Bronx there's lots of blood.

"People say gangs is bad. Not to me. Gangs help each other, but we fight if there's static. This is just how we live. School don't mean nothing. They don't teach your head for jobs and living. Eating too. Schools don't teach your head to eat.

"You ask me who I am. I am somebody. Down East 139th St. they say, 'No trouble in stores, OK?' then they throw you out. So maybe we burn them. Then they

gone. We still here. We still somebody.

"This is our country up here, like a whole world. Everybody took the money and went, but the gangs stay. We own all this land and all these buildings. If we got money like a country we could rule this place like kings.

"They say gangs will die. They say gangs come and go. But the Savage Nomads is forever. Even people, like adults, tip their hats to us. Cause we are like police.

"Some people could leave but they don't cause people is real and they stick together. I know there's another world like the one on TV. But this is a world, too.

"If you write gang things people will think we just party and rumble. But mostly we make families with real weddings. Some girls get down with every dude, but really we believe in families.

"My mother don't want me in no gang. But here you have to be. Everybody beat on you if you not a member. Gangs is protection. When I wear my colors I get respect. Since I been eleven I been in gangs. First just one small one named the Masked Marauders. Just four of us. We control Tiffany Street. We do crib jobs to make some change. Taking off old ladies and kids. But that's jive time and other gangs would take us off if we step out of our territory.

"Up here everybody packs. I don't carry heavy hardware like a .45. Too much kick with that sucker. Too much like a rifle. I just carry a .32 automatic. I got my first piece when I was 12. I stole it off a junkie. That's when my friend, Frankie, got hit over on Melrose Avenue. Two dudes just took him off. They said he stole their dog. It weren't true but they pumped him in the face.

"I walked across the George Washington Bridge that day. This white toll man said get off the bridge. I shot at him twice. They never wrote down one word in the papers but I shot at him twice.

"I wanted to get away that day. My mother told me my father lives in Jersey. I was going to see him. Maybe he had some money for me. I didn't find him so I just walked around in those big parks over there.

"That's when I joined the Savage Nomads. Big Man took me in. He speaks like a law thinker does cause he done heavy time. He don't want the gangs to fight and he don't let no cliques fight. He says that white people want us to fight each other then they don't have to deal with us.

"You talk with Big Man and he scares you like something bad. That's the prison eyes he has. He's a cool nigger with dead eyes like the devil. Even cops respect him cause they say he took off three guys at once.

"What else can I say? Maybe what I'd like to be if I get to be someone important. I would buy my mother a house and build a real clubhouse with apartments. Sometimes you have to turn your heart cold because it's too much here. I like it cause we own it. It's ours. But it ain't much. It ain't nothing. If I did what you do and write things down for reading then I would write some real things that people would get all shook up about.

"Sometimes I think this is wrong. That's it. It's just wrong. Not for me cause I'm a man. But for little children growing up here. They see nothing and then they feel nothing. I know that some people have money and cars and food. Then you think 'why can't I have that.' But what good does thinking do?

"I been raised here from the time when buildings were more pretty and parks had trees. Now we don't have anything. But you get with your clique and you talk and party and get high. You can feel good. Like somebody.

"This here, what you been hearing is me. The life and times of Nato. N—A—T—O in the year of our Lord, 1978. The End."

(© 1979 Pacific News Service)



Members of a Chicago gang, the Latin Kings.

fact that a small child jumped out the window after watching *Superman*.

The director of *Boulevard Nights*, Michael Pressman, says of his own film in an *American Film* interview, "It has a lot of violence, but I don't think we glorify it. Violence is an outgrowth of a lot of the heightened experience of East Los Angeles. The reality is that their world is very exciting—self-destructive, yes, but still exciting. And it is those life-and-death conflicts that make good drama."

One of the gang members employed in the film has a different reaction, especially to the film's fight scenes: "The movie makes it look like we're just all out for a good time. It's not fun—gangs don't fight for fun. It's a point

of honor."

The Warriors, though, combines a sense of play with a sense of honor; with its driving physical poetry it celebrates a spirit of urban resistance. But it celebrates it within an entirely given and unchanging social framework. Thus it ends up glorifying suicidal violence, as the unique expression of integrity left to the people it shows onscreen.

The film captures the attraction of that life well; it gives expression to the dreams—such as they are—of a real group of people. But such expert expression often incites, more than it portrays, the violence of urban youth. In making violence heroic, *The Warriors* does more than inspire the current round of gang violence. It also conditions future

demand for such films, and it shapes the real aspirations of people in the "youth market."

The Warriors intrigues, however, not only for its peculiar and deathly artistry. It reminds us of the complications of artistic freedom. Like pornography, it cannot be prohibited by the public without running into familiar first amendment and censorship questions. It can be stopped by market pressures. But *Variety* pointed out that the first week's box office will handily pay for new lavatory facilities in many theaters. And although Paramount has released exhibitors from any contractual obligations, Kalish points out, "theater owners are our customers, and they in effect bought the picture. They can keep it or not."

-MOVIES-

Ancient tale of violence updated with visual flair

By Ken Slavin

Writer-director Walter Hill's exploitation film *The Warriors* may have moved Hill past Sam Peckinpah and John Milius (*Jeremiah Johnson*, *The Wind and the Lion*) in the competition for most macho director. Peckinpah and Milius usually point their films backwards in time, lamenting the passing of "when men were men"; but Hill's movie is about right now.

The plot is simple. A gang from Coney Island, the Warriors, goes to a congress of all the gangs in New York. Cyrus, charismatic leader of New York's largest gang, has called the meeting to call for unity. He makes a simple point: there are 60,000 gang members in the city, and only 20,000 cops.

But a crazed small-time gang leader shoots Cyrus in the middle of his ecstatic oration. The killer accuses the Warriors of Cyrus' murder and suddenly the Warriors are on the run, forced to "bop" (fight) their way from the Bronx to Coney Island, against the combined forces of all New York's street gangs. The night-long chase occupies most of the movie.

This simple story is an old one. It was adapted from Sol Yurick's novel. Yurick in turn took the plot from Xenophon's classic military history of Greek mercenaries pitted against all the forces of the Persians, called *The March Up Country*. Hill transforms New York into a male and military universe—the highly organized gangs live in strictly defended territories, and they refer to themselves with military jargon.

But the story line is only a vehicle for Hill's visual essay on aggression. Watching *The Warriors* is like riding a fast train. The background of neon signs, graffiti-covered alleys and cars flash across the screen in dramatic compositions. The editing is so fast that it sometimes seems like a long montage, with only the forward motion of the gang giving it coherence.

Not that the action is divorced from cues that direct our sympathies. The action is seductive, engaging. The characters (all the cast is new or unfamiliar) appeal to the audience—they are average-sized, racially integrated, vulnerable, innocent. While they merely sport leather vests with their insignia, other gangs



have a bizarre and threatening aspect. Some are dressed in baseball uniforms, while wearing Kiss-style face make-up; others have shaved heads and still others wear Hawaiian shirts and Chinese army uniforms.

Problems and solutions, as well as the code of play, become simple in *The Warriors*. Our gang fights well and wins but, like Matt Dillon, never draws first. They are persecuted because of a misunderstanding. And might is eventually backed up by right when the city's largest gang finds out who really killed Cyrus.

Male bonding.

The film borders on social comment, culminating when the Warriors' leader finally gets home to Coney Island. Looking at the rooftop view of the slums, he says, "We fought all night to get to this?" This realization should have a dramatic impact. But in fact, none of the strength of the film is in the dialog.

Moreover, the rooftops of Coney Island do not explain the social pressures that create gangs and make young people's lives difficult, any more than the rest of the film's scenery does. The gangs "play" all night in a New York nearly scoured of people; it is a gigantic backdrop for their fights. So the film expresses most of all the thrill of combat, and the energy of male companionship in battle.

The Warriors reserves a special place for women. Whenever a female gang member challenges the Warriors, the usually fast pace slows down. It becomes longer, more lyrical. Women do not attack in this film; they entrap, they lure with sex. And they only bring trouble.

The Warriors' most macho member, Ajax, is sabotaged by a pretty policewoman, who entraps him in Central Park. The Warriors' leader resists the most persistent seduction attempt, by Mercy, who abandons her gang to follow him. By the time they return to Coney Island, she has

proved she is almost as good as a man (she defends herself at the crucial moments), and also that she is willing to take orders from the leader. Under those terms of submission and control, the two walk off into the sunrise.

New breed.

Walter Hill is a new kind of filmmaker. He entered the industry as a screenwriter in a new era marked by a burst of creative energy, with people like John Milius, Stephen Spielberg, Paul Scharder, Brian de Palma, George, Lucas.

Like the others, he came in as a sophisticate, schooled in the styles and successes of the early masters of cinema. He too is obsessed with manipulating the audience with special visual effects. In his films, like in Brian de Palma's *Carrie* or John Carpenter's *Halloween*, audience manipulation achieves levels that have nothing to do with plot development. And he too contains references to the past in his eclectic style. He mimics Howard Hawks, for instance, with his straightforward camera angles.

Form and effect take precedence over substance and narrative. This tactic is one that has an eye cocked toward the market. These days, new directors can't afford the time to develop. They ransack their cinematic past in search of the effect that will create a blockbuster hit that is now the cornerstone of the industry.

The Warriors employs an exploitation format intended to guarantee Hill, for the first time, enough money not only to produce a film, but to distribute it as well. His last film, *The Driver*, was highly personal and limited. It showed the driver as a loner, as a total technician. His actions had no impact on society. The film was aesthetically successful, but it failed at the box office. Its limits were its strengths.

So *The Warriors* combines a sensationalistic topic with a highly inventive visual style. The result is cinematic flair put to a cheap and violent purpose.

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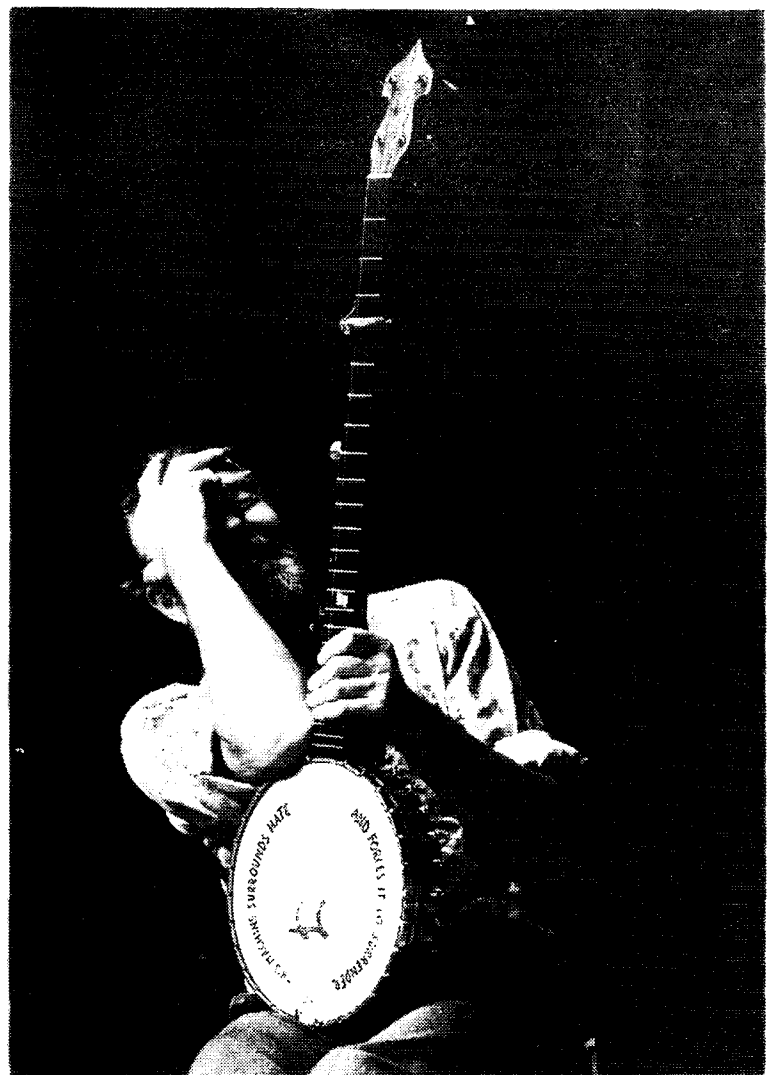
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DOCUMENTARIES

Festivals reveal beauty and strength of regional cultures

By Pat Aufderheide

In honor of Mardi Gras, some PBS stations are airing an hour-long documentary on the New Orleans festivities, called *Always for Pleasure*. The film is the latest effort by an excellent documentary filmmaker, Les Blank.

Blank, a grown man, travels through other people's cultures by making movies. His films are unforgettable for their empathetic outsider's view of regional American cultures. Moreover, they are by implicit comparison a criticism of industrial life for its speed, its forgetfulness, and its denial of tradition. This filmmaker, who spent years making industrial films and who bears tokens of a counter-cultural life, does more than capture vanishing folkways in his films. He also expresses, for a generation and a class, a bewildered sense of loss.

Within the small and disappearing pockets of regional cultures in America, Blank focuses on music. Texas blues guitar (*The Blues Accordin' to Lightnin' Hopkins*; *A Well-Spent Life*); Cajun fiddling (*Dry Wood*); Cajun accordion (*Hot Pepper*); norteno accordion (*Chulas Fronteras*)—the music opens the door to a different world. Introducing us to an alien way of life by way of music, Blank makes a foreign culture intelligible without ever denying its separateness.

His most recent film, *Always for Pleasure*, follows one of the Mardi Gras parade groups through New Orleans street life year-round. A wild sexual joy pulsates from the screen as we watch the revellers; as well, the film captures an intense and intricate social competition symbolized by dance. Like the style of his other films, *Always for Pleasure* depends on a straightforward documentary style, alternating interviews and festival scenes, opting for simplicity over artfulness.

Because Blank enters the worlds he reveals through music and festival, he is able to project a particularly cheerful and sustaining view of life. Besides sketching unforgettable characters, he also shows how music is integral to a distinctively communal milieu. Though workers in *Chulas Fronteras*, for instance, travel long distances in search of agricultural work, they share the sound of music broadcast by radio stations run on love and pennies.

It's not all cheerful energy in these documentaries. They also reveal the way these regional cultures are shrinking. In interviews people explain the high cost of isolation: there is too little for everyone. One woman explains about the Cajun countryside, "Now life is too fast. As the children grow up there's no jobs, nothin' for them to do... They're leavin' one by one."

But the purpose of these films is not to perform an expose or to leave a Library of Congress record of passing lifestyles. Instead, we are privileged to watch a visit with friends of friends—what the films create is empathy.

Cultural limbo.

Gaining entrance to other ways of life requires an exceptional humility. And Blank acts, in his art and in his person, like someone calmly convinced that other people are more interesting than he is. His choice of interesting people is deliberate. Pressed for an explanation of his choice of work, he told IN THESE TIMES, "I'm a cultural peeping tom.... I find my own middle-class cultural heritage to be...uh...a bit thin."

Blank seems to live in a kind of permanent limbo, as culturally equidistant as the imaginary anthropologist: childhood and youth in Florida and California, prep school, two marriages and families, several started careers, and finally filmmaking. The quality



Olympia Jazz Band in New Orleans returns from a jazz funeral. (Inset) Les Blank.

of joy, of integration, of affirmation among the people his camera encounters is sharpened by painful contrast with a larger, rootless world he brings with him.

Does he romanticize regional culture? He admits he is not interested in a sociology of rural poverty. "If I set about to select and create something, I want to pick out beauty. My own life has enough problems in it." If he avoids romanticizing while focusing on festive aspects of a regional culture, it is because he lets the people he films show and tell him how it works. He is a quiet and receptive visitor, with enough respect for his hosts to let them tell the story.

Asked how he managed to get such forthright entrance to the homes and lives of two black bluesmen, for instance, he explains coolly: "Mainly I tried not to shoot when they weren't accepting me—which was most of the time. Then I left out the footage they didn't accept, which was most of it."

Blank shows a similar practicality about the problem of representing the women's part in the cultures he visits. "People say it's a man's view of the culture," he says. "It is. But what I show is that the men and the women are divided, in their roles and in their space. For instance, take the film *Spend It All*. I think it does leave

the impression that the men control the culture in the community. But what I show is that in a festival, men go over in the corner and drink, and the women go to another corner and talk."

He also films moments like, in *A Well-Spent Life*, Mance Lipscomb's wife explaining why she adopted the habit of eating dinner separately from her husband, a story that illustrates both female independence and wifely dependence. Elsewhere, women complain to Blank's camera that pig-slaughtering time means, to them, that men get drunk while women work overtime to prepare food. Several documentaries thus acknowledge that men and women live separate and unequal lives within a mini-world they jointly create, and that the filmmaker has a limited access to it all. If the explanations are clear, it is also clear that explanations are necessary for the outsider.

The filmmaker listens with care; he needs to avoid the charge of opportunism. Blank's own worst fear, he claims, is that he is merely exploiting other people's dying lifestyles in order to fill in his own. And he is aware that he is making an invidious contrast. As always, he makes the point musically. He remembers a documentary he made on a rock star, a film unflattering enough to the star and his companions that the

star prohibited release of the film.

"Rock'n'roll tries to imitate regional music," Blank says. "A lot of rock musicians, for instance, have used blues to heighten their effect. But they're not speaking to a culture that grew up with it. When the Cajun kids go to a dance, the music they dance to is the very same music that their moms and dads sang on the porch at home."

Always for Pleasure is a bold step for Blank. It concerns a large city, and a tradition long since slickly packaged for tourism. It is limited in its illumination of a way of life, insofar as a street dance in New Orleans is more commercial than a country festival is. The big city's Mardi Gras suggests less about the conditions of daily life than does the rural Mardi Gras of *Dry Wood*.

But *Always for Pleasure* still communicates an abandoned joy and raises the question of why that feeling should be such an occasional sensation for so many of us. Through this film, as in Blank's other documentaries, we share a glimpse of a world in which work and play still belong to the same universe, and where play means more than distraction and escape.

Les Blank's films are available through Flower Films, 10341 San Pablo Ave., El Cerrito, CA 94530.

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MUSIC

"I CHANGED MY CLOTHES, BUT I DIDN'T CHANGE MY SOUL"

By Bruce Dancis

The careers of many black singers began with gospel music. Wilson Pickett was raised in rural Alabama before moving to Detroit as a teenager in the 1950s, and he sang with a local gospel group called the Violinaires. Al Green followed a similar pattern, born in rural Arkansas and moving to Grand Rapids, Mich., as a young boy. Green sang in the family gospel group, the Green Brothers. The Pointer Sisters grew up singing in the West Oakland (Calif.) Church of God, a church in which both their parents were ministers.

Changing times and trends led them and many others into new musical sounds. Pickett emerged as one of the most popular and dynamic soul singers of the '60s, recording such great songs as "In the Midnight Hour" and "Funky Broadway." Green didn't make it until the early '70s, but when he did, he became the leading black vocalist of the decade, with worldwide sales of over 30 million albums and singles, plus equal stature with the critics. The Pointers' success was on a smaller scale, but they have been popular.

The spectacular rise of disco has brought about new changes in black music. *Billboard* reports that many black radio stations are replacing more traditional rhythm and blues with disco recordings, and straight soul acts are finding it increasingly difficult to obtain bookings for live engagements. At a time like this, the temptation for a soul performer to make his or her music more palatable to current tastes is great.

Yet singers like Green, the Pointers and Pickett have resisted the trend and recently released albums that rank with the best they've ever made. They prove that there are still stimulating black alternatives to a disco sound that, for the most part, avoids challenging its audience and blurs anonymously. But whether they can succeed commercially is another question.

Marvelously funky.

As with his previous *The Belle Album*, Green's new *Truth N' Time* (Hi Records) was produced in his own studio in Memphis. As with its predecessor, *Truth N' Time* is concerned largely with testaments to Green's Christian



Al Green, the Pointer Sisters, and Wilson Pickett prove there are exciting black alternatives to blurry disco sound. But can they make it commercially?

faith—"I found a new way of living," he sings on "Happy Days." But judging from the marvelously funky music he makes, dancing is obviously not beyond the pale of Green's ministry, and the lyrical theme is barely obtrusive enough to offend non-believers.

Backed by a superb band, with Green supplying the guitar tracks, the sound throughout is dynamic, yet restrained. The title cut in particular shows Green to be as pulsatingly hypnotic as always. Beginning with a gently rolling beat and a soft vocal, it builds in intensity almost imperceptibly before Green's meteoric voice and the sharp, staccato horns kick it in. By the end of the song, I was ready to buy a dozen bibles.

Green also showed that he is still a masterful interpreter of other people's material. Dedicating the '60s hit "To Sir With

Love" to the memory of his father and the father of co-worker Fred Jordan, Green took this pretty but innocuous song and made the most convincing version of it yet.

Truth N' Time was released too recently to tell how it will be received, but *Belle* had disappointing sales, at least by Green's previous standards. Although his record company was unable to provide precise figures, a spokesperson told me that the album "did well, but not as well as it should have with the critical acclaim it received."

Half-hearted disco.

The dropping-off in Green's popularity is nothing compared to the ills that have befallen the veteran soul shouter, Wilson Pickett. Pickett's last four albums were commercial flops and, according

to *Rolling Stone*, his latest release—*A Funky Situation* (Big Tree Records)—has been selling poorly.

Pickett is understandably alarmed at this turn of events, and a quick glance at *A Funky Situation* makes it seem as if he was trying to remedy the situation by going disco himself. The first song on the album is a disco number called "Dance With Me," in which Pickett sings: "Goin' down to the disco/where all the lovely people go/groovin' to the latest sound/everybody's gettin' down."

But proceeding further into the album, it became apparent that Pickett has not really traded in his soul shoes for disco duds. The very next song, "She's So Tight," is a classic soul screamer, and the following cut, "The Night We Called It a Day," a beautiful ballad. By the time the first side finished with the ribald funk of "Hold on to Your Hiney"—Pickett's sexuality has always been outfront; was there every any doubt as to what he wanted to do at the midnight hour?—it was clear that the wicked Pickett was back.

Pickett's understanding of his musical dilemma is expressed in the brutally honest, autobiographical "Time to Let the Sun Shine on Me." Announcing at the beginning that "I'm ready to express myself," Pickett admits that he's been "standing fooling around out there in the rain." Later he sings, "I did all right out there in the soul field." Then disco came along and he was told to get with it. Agreeing to give it a try, "I changed my clothes, [but I] didn't change my soul."

A Funky Situation proves him to be absolutely correct. Returning to the Muscle Shoals (Ala.) studios of producer/engineer Rick Hall, with whom Pickett recorded such past hits as his great version of "Hey Jude," Pickett has made his strongest and most sustained album in years.

New energy.

The Pointer Sisters' problem has been almost the opposite of Pickett's. They've been plenty chic, with their '40s clothes and campy songs, but they haven't been particularly soulful. Their nostalgic look and sound may have gotten them their first public attention, but it has been a dead-end musically. With the release of their new album *Energy* (Planet Records), Ruth, Anita, and June

Pointer have taken an impressive stride forward.

Backed by a strong band featuring outstanding session guitarist Waddy Wachtel, the Pointers do rock and soul versions of songs by such fine writers as Allen Toussaint and Walter Becker/Donald Fagen (Steely Dan). Producer Richard Perry had the sense to keep the Sisters' voices squarely up front, avoiding the tendency of many producers with auteurist hankering to put their own mark all over the tracks.

Whether in dynamic and unidentified solos or rich three-part harmonies, the Pointers have the power to get the best out of almost any song they sing. Particularly impressive was their treatment of Becker and Fagen's story of the self-loathing lover, "Dirty Work," and Russ Ballard's "Come and Get Your Love," in which they turn what could have been a plaintive plea into an order to show some respect.

The only problems occur when the Sisters' lush vocals overpower insubstantial material. Their dense harmonies on Bruce Springsteen's "Fire"—which unfortunately has been released as a single—seem out of place on a song which needs the restraint shown by Robert Gordon on his cover version.

With these three albums, the Pointers, Green, and Pickett have, in a sense, made their responses to the disco challenge. It's not that all disco is dreck, or that it all sounds the same; the latter charge is too close to the usual snobbish disdain for all rock music to be of comfort. Nor is it enough to dismiss disco as being a producer's medium, for a lot of great music from Phil Spector to Motown has been dominated by the people in the control booths.

The problem is that the popularity of disco seems to be based on its uniformity. After spending so much time mastering elaborate dance steps, who wants to get thrown off by some idiosyncratic arrangement? So technology becomes the dominant factor in replicating a tried and true sound, rather than a tool capable of enhancing artistic creativity.

In such an atmosphere, veteran soul performers like Al Green and Wilson Pickett have decided to make their stand on the kind of music they have always done best, and the Pointer Sisters have chosen a more soulful route as well.

Meminger

Continued from page 19.

A television show called *WHITE SHADOW* centers around a white former pro player who is coaching basketball at a high school in a black ghetto.

I think it's good. It gives an accurate picture of what's happening in the black communities and disadvantaged schools, and gives some sense of the almost insurmountable obstacles that a black child has to overcome to succeed in the world of athletics.

Wouldn't the show be more constructive if it made a teacher or the principal the hero?

But it's real! Because in the real world sports have that kind of power. If you have kids and they are sports-oriented, I bet that if I say something to them or Earl [Monroe] says something to them, they'd listen more than if you told them. What the *White Shadow* is saying is that maybe it is the coach that has to teach these kids. That you have to use the vehicle that's tuned into the people.

A lot of people are against sports, against recreation; they say there's too much emphasis on it. There's not too much em-

phasis on sports; there's an imbalance. Most of the sports that people see on television, whether collegiate or professional, are money-making operations, and the people who profit from them don't care about the quality of the game.

But participating in sports, whether for recreational purposes or for an appreciation of it as an art form, can be a tremendously positive experience. It can teach young people how to cooperate to achieve common objectives, how to function within a group when you're not the central figure, and how to overcome myths and stereotypes about people of different backgrounds.

CULTURE SHOCK

I SMOKE FOR THE TASTE

In a recent market research test (reported by *Zodiac News*) volunteers smoked the same cigarette under two names, "Frontiersman," and "April." Women reported "Frontiersman" was hotter, stronger, harsher and less enjoyable than "April," while men liked "Frontiersman" better.



IT'S THE THOUGHT THAT COUNTS

This year Gillette is spending \$18 million, says *Dollars and Sense*, to promote a roll-on anti-perspirant, "Dry Idea." Gillette admits the roll-on is no more effective than similar products on the market, but it feels dry and makes consumers believe they will be drier.

THREE YEARS AGO TWO MALE copy editors at the *New York Times*, aged 29 and 35, developed cataracts, a condition usually associated with older women. It could have been only a coincidence, but there was one disturbing element: they had both recently started using the new electronic text-editing equipment that has become standard in the nation's news rooms and will soon replace typewriters in most large offices.

Known as word-processors, the machines are basically electric typewriters attached to television-like screens called video-display terminals (VDTs) on which an operator can proofread copy and make editorial changes. According to Milton Zaret, associate professor of clinical ophthalmology at New York University medical center, and one of the country's leading ophthalmologic surgeons, the copy editors' cataracts were very similar to those common among radar technicians exposed to radiation emitted by their radar screens.

Two studies of the *Times*' machines found they did not produce dangerous levels of radiation, but Zaret and other critics called the tests incomplete. In late January, the largest dispute so far concerning word processors boiled over once again as 75 UN General Assembly pool typists walked off the job for the third time in two months. For nearly a year they have refused to use the machines on the grounds of physical stress and potentially dangerous radiation. Although training on the VDTs is on a voluntary basis, those who have refused also say that they fear eventual punitive layoffs.

Over 500 other staff members dissatisfied over their own working conditions joined the typists. As a result, the General Assembly, scheduled to end three days later, had to continue into the next week. It was big news at the UN, but the *Times* found this word-processing story only fit for a couple of paragraphs (unlike its own case, which it never saw fit to print). Likewise, the *New York Post*, where VDTs already nearly outnumber typewriters, found the situation not newsworthy.

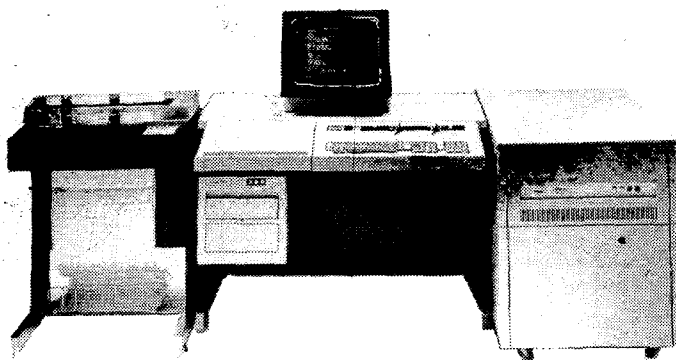
The UN administration insisted that the equipment is not dangerous. Citing a National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) investigation conducted last year that found the UN machines non-hazardous, one spokesman called those typists who refuse to use them "just a bunch of hysterical women afraid of new technology."

"Their leaders," claimed administrator Marvin Schlaff, "have latched onto the health hazard issue because it's sexy and appealing, especially if you don't know about physics." He said that VDT operators' eyes showed no abnormalities when examined and that permanent employees will be retained although the pool itself will be phased out.

"The eye exam is a joke," responded Lowell Flanders, chairman of the UN Staff Committee (staff union). "It's just like the army—if you can breathe, you're okay." He added that the VDT operators now have unusually relaxed work schedules, but that physical stress symptoms may become more apparent once they begin full production (which often includes overtime), since the maximum daily recommended machine use for any individual is only four hours. Flanders also charged that typists who rejected the VDTs have been threatened with dismissal and had their salaries withheld during the current job action, a step he called "a clear violation of all international covenants signed by this body, including the UN Declaration of Human Rights."

Two groups.

As protesting pool typists and translators, unable to obtain meeting rooms during their work stoppage, milled about in the Secretariat lobby between strategy sessions, about 25 typists or one-quarter of the original pool was upstairs working at the VDTs. Hostility between those who changed over to word processors and those who did not is so high that they do not speak and the two groups have been assigned to separate floors. The typists who now use the VDTs said they were not coerced; they requested anonymity because they fear repercussions from the non-VDT group.



THROUGH A GLASS, DIMLY

WHY 75 SECRETARIES AT THE UN
WALKED OFF THEIR ULTRA-MODERN JOBS

by Gwenda Blair

"Those who aren't using the VDTs have been cowed by their leaders," said one VDT operator. "They're unsophisticated, simple people who don't know what's going on and are easily swayed." All the VDT operators interviewed said they had no worries about their health and they find the word-processing machines far better suited to their work than their old typewriters. "I've enjoyed the last four months more than the rest of the seven years I've spent here," said another typist. "These machines are quiet, they cut the work in half, and I don't have the headaches and tired eyes I had before."

Veteran labor organizers were not surprised at this response. "It's always hard to get people to accept that anything the boss tells you could be wrong," said one. "People think of offices as safe places, but they're not. It took years to alert people to industrial diseases like brown lung, and it could take years more to spread the word on office dangers."

No standards.

Perhaps the biggest problem in analyzing the danger of the word processors is that there is no generally accepted standard for acceptable exposure to radiation and little is known about cumulative effects. Dr. Karl Z. Morgan, a noted health

physicist at Georgia Tech, says that there is no safe level of exposure and there is no dose of radiation so low that the risk of a malignancy is zero.

"Those limits that do exist are arbitrary and contrived," said Dr. Zaret. "They're just guesses, not based on pathology." For example, U.S. standards for occupational exposure to low-level microwaves, which could be generated when VDTs are used in conjunction with other electronic equipment, like keyboards or computer data banks, are now coming under fire as too lax. They were established more than 20 years ago by Herman Schwan, an engineering professor at the University of Pennsylvania, who called the standards "crudely set" and badly in need of refinement." Critics note that the Soviet Union has a limit 10,000 times lower, based on research there and in Eastern Europe that found damage at low levels included memory loss, infertility, leukemia, central nervous system disorders and genetic damage.

In the same week the UN staff was protesting, the U.S. government released a major study confirming that GLs exposed to low-level radiation developed leukemia at twice the usual rate, and a federal researcher said that up to five million American workers have been exposed to similar radiation levels.

A third problem with VDTs is the light

deprivation caused by the fluorescent cathode-ray tubes that power them. According to Dr. John Ott, director of the Center for Light Research in Ft. Lauderdale and a frequent congressional witness on related matters, long-term exposure to such artificial illumination can cause strain to muscles (including the heart), lowered resistance to disease, hyperactivity, aggressive behavior, and cancer.

As for the *Times* and UN studies of VDTs, Dr. Zaret and others found them less than reassuring for the following reasons:

- At neither workplace were machines tested with malfunctions, even though at the *Times* malfunction was extremely common—over 400 repairs were reported in one three-month period alone.

- The lowest level of background radiation in the *Times* building was more than 40 percent higher than the highest level found naturally, but NIOSH could not locate the source. "It's like a fireman coming to your house, smelling smoke, not finding the flames, and just going home," comments Zaret. Background radiation was not tested at the UN at all.

- At the *Times*, a test engineer wore a Cicoil Personal Hazard meter during one study. Its failure to sound an alarm was cited as proof there was no dangerous level of electromagnetic radiation, but a year later its manufacturer declared it inadequate and took it off the market.

- NIOSH did not measure x-rays at the *Times* but relied instead on measurements made elsewhere two years ago. At the UN, no x-rays were detected. Critics suspect inadequate measuring devices and records since some amount of x-ray emission has been found in every other VDT study.

- The cause of the cataracts at the *Times* remained officially unknown, but the arbitrator still declined to declare the employees ineligible for compensation. In addition, one of three medical experts consulted urged that VDT operators note their work on their personal medical histories—an unnecessary step if VDTs are not dangerous.

There may soon be other such fights as in the UN ahead in the nation's other offices. Five to ten million VDTs are already being used for faster type-setting, airline reservations, stock inventory, mailing lists, scientific research and dozens of other functions.

Office productivity went up only 4 percent in the last decade, as compared to a 90 percent rise in industrial productivity, and office equipment manufacturers are racing to close the gap. By 1982 the burgeoning electronics office systems industry is expected to achieve sales of \$15.1 billion. Word-processing alone is now a \$800 million industry and is expected to reach \$2 billion by that year. If you don't use a word-processing machine already, it surely won't be long until you do. ■

